

LOYAL INDIA

"While tower the Mountains of the North,
while sunlight gilds the plain,
While gleams the silver moon by night, or
heaves the rolling Main,
World-wide, unmoved, impregnable, may
thy Dominion stand,
And for the buttress of thy Right be God's
protecting Hand!"

SIRDAR DALJIT SINGH,

Ode to the King-Emperor.

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A PAGEANT OF INDIA

By Adolf Waley

LOYAL INDIA

A SURVEY OF
SEVENTY
YEARS

(1858—1928)

by

PERCY DUMBELL, M.A.(Oxon.)

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IN MEMORY OF COLLEAGUES IN
THE INDIA OFFICE
AND
THE INDIA STORE DEPÔT
WHO GAVE THEIR LIVES IN
THE GREAT WAR
1914-1919

I cannot help thinking from all I have heard and seen that the task of governing India will be made easier if we on our part infuse into it a wider element of sympathy. I will venture to predict that to such sympathy there will be an ever-abundant and genuine response. May we not also hope for a still further measure of trust and confidence in our earnest desire and efforts to promote the well-being and to further the best interests of every class ?

H.M. KING GEORGE

(then Prince of Wales) in a speech at the Guildhall,
17th May, 1906.

INTRODUCTION

THE aim of these selections is to indicate, in brief compass, how varied and how vast are the problems that confront those who are guiding the destinies of India and aiding her progress according to their several capacities.

As was declared in King Edward's Gracious Message of November 1908, in words that were rightly called a ringing reproof to the doubters and the slanderers, the government of India is "a task as glorious as was ever committed to Rulers and subjects in any State or Empire of recorded time."

Evidence is accumulating to show that the inherent difficulties are being met with patient determination on the one hand, and on the other with a steadily growing recognition of the paramount need for loyal co-operation and constructive methods. The Riddle of the Sphinx is still unanswered; a complete solution has still to be found; but the royal watchword of "sympathy" will, it may be hoped, prove more potent than any hitherto proclaimed.

It is in the light of this ideal that the present set of Illustrative Documents has been collected and arranged. To the testimony of famous men, and of those who have borne, and of some who are still bearing, the heat and burden of the day the appeal is made. There may be no people of India; there is, at least in aspiration and endeavour, a Commonwealth of India.

The present writer makes no claim to be an expert. He has never set foot on the shores of India. That fact may damn the book in the eyes of some critics, but the frank admission of it should at least rebut *in limine* any suspicion of dogmatism. At the same time he may claim without presumption to have been an attentive, if distant, observer

of the Indian scene over a period in which great events took place, *quorum pars parva fuit*. Debarred by private circumstances from realising his schoolboy ambition and his dream as a Collegian of joining the Indian Civil Service, he accepted a place in the Home Service and, as luck would have it, was assigned to a clerkship in the office of the Secretary of State in Council in Whitehall. Here, while still in the Cadet grade, he had the good fortune to be selected to serve on the personal staff of the most eminent of the many eminent personages who have held the high office of Secretary of State, the Right Honourable John Morley, O.M., afterwards Viscount Morley of Blackburn.

What it meant to sit at the feet of that Master was recorded, at the time of his passing, as he would have said, to the Elysian Fields, in the columns of a Service journal, in an appreciation which is, by permission, reproduced in an Appendix.

The period of Lord Morley's principate is amply documented. His own Recollections (2 Volumes, published by Messrs. Macmillan & Co.), read with Mr. John Buchan's admirable Memoir of Lord Minto, Viceroy and Governor-General at the time, on whose shoulders rested the direct responsibility of maintaining the Pax Britannica, constitute a record, unprecedented in wealth of detail, of difficulties daily, even hourly, faced and surmounted by a pair of colleagues of whom England may well be proud, diverse as they were in character and mental outlook, belonging to widely different schools of political thought, independent to the point of obstinacy ("all good men are obstinate," the Secretary of State used to say), but both animated, beyond cavil, by a spirit of devotion to the best interests of India, fearless in forming and enunciating their plans of reform, and unswervingly loyal both to each other and to their lifelong principles in carrying their projects into effectual operation, with patience, resolution, and a cool far-seeing statesmanship that later and more headlong constitution-mongers might with advantage have emulated. One who was behind the scenes during those years, pregnant

as they proved to be with world-history, may be excused for believing and desiring to proclaim his conviction that here, in a reversion to counsels of that temper and to the orderly procedure then adopted, is to be found, if anywhere, the safe line of advance towards the establishment of a true and lasting Commonwealth of India.

The feeling that besets the Western mind when first confronted with the riddle of India is one of sheer bewilderment. When the campaign to upset British rule in India was at its height in the Presidency of Bengal, some of the promoters of the movement—Anarchists they would be called in Western parlance, Nationalists by themselves—were reported to have inserted in the agony column of one of the leading Calcutta newspapers an advertisement in these terms: "Desperate men wanted!" About the same time other members of the organisation, wishing to terrorise an influential landowner, sent him a live bomb by parcel post, but tempered their ferocity by a registered letter, an advance invoice, as it were, warning him of its despatch! How can one hope even to begin to understand? Yet if Englishmen are to continue to serve in India, or even to trade there, the attempt must be made.

Into the deeper mysteries of Indian thought and feeling this is not the occasion, nor mine the pen to probe. But no one who has had dealings, even be it merely in an official capacity, with the youth of India, whether Moslem or Hindu, Sikh or Pathan, Rajput or Parsi, can fail to appreciate in some measure the graciousness of the Indian character; and no one who has had the privilege of hearing from their own lips something of the ideals animating those women of India who have devoted their lives to the service and uplifting of their less fortunate sisters, can fail to realise that here, and no otherwhere, in this community of service, lies the key, if not to complete understanding, at least to that tolerance and mutual trust which has made it possible in the past for peoples so diverse, it might almost be said discordant in modes of life and thought, to work together and build up, by common effort, an Empire, Dominion—call it what you will—the like of which the

world has never seen before. On that sure foundation one may build, better, perhaps, than is yet realised. At least in the endeavour to do so one may follow the sage counsel given in one of Lord Morley's historic speeches, and strive to maintain, "whether the weather be fair or foul, a valiant and hopeful spirit." Of a certainty one may affirm, without fear of contradiction, that India, under Divine Providence, has before her, as a self-reliant, self-respecting partner in the British Commonwealth of Nations, as glorious a future as she has behind her a splendid past; and it may be a happier future, when more of the mists of prejudice and passion shall have cleared away.

The present writer has eaten the salt of India. It would, he conceives, be a plain dereliction of duty if he did not do what lies in his power to contribute to the establishment of a better understanding and to give reasons for the faith that is in him—that Britain can survey her work in India "with clear gaze and good conscience."

In furtherance of this enterprise what is needed, it may be said at once, is not a new Encyclopedia. What is wanted, rather, is a series of plain, unadorned narratives, by those who have leisure to prepare them and can command an audience, of the ordinary day's work in India—a series that would show beyond dispute that Britain's record in India is a cause for pride; that our work has stood, and stood without obvious signs of crumbling, the strain of the greatest war the world has ever known; that it will continue to stand, with whatever modifications in detail may be right and just, and that all talk of a "Lost Dominion" is but the threnody of men who cannot bear to see the methods they themselves applied with such patience and success bettered, if that be possible, by the younger generation. There are those, however, who are prepared to cast behind them these dolorous forebodings and to say to the young probationer, "*Macte virtute, puer*"—We wish you good luck in the name of the Lord.

But how to set about the task of describing the moral and material conditions of India in a manner calculated to bring fundamental issues into a proper perspective?

After due consideration it would seem that the essentials would best be apprehended by a brief examination, in turn, of, first, the native Indian theory of government in ancient and modern times, so far as it can be ascertained from authentic sources; next, of certain historic documents issued by the British Royal House, constituting the Charter under which the rights and liberties of the Princes and peoples of India are proclaimed, guaranteed, and safeguarded; and thereafter to outline, as simply as possible, the structure of the existing Constitution and trace its gradual growth.

What, then, is the Hindu conception of sovereignty? In other words, what are the attributes that are looked for in a ruler? If the example of other peoples is any guide—as of course it cannot fail to be—the answer to these questions must be sought not in formulas of the political platform and the Press, but in current songs and sayings that are in the mouths of the common folk and mould their thought and daily life and conversation; it must be sought, too, in the ancient scriptures, the Epics, which display Hindu political ideals functioning, as it were, or in the ancient Sanskrit Books of the Law, of which there are now many adequate translations.

It seems superfluous to set out in like detail the doctrines of Islam, whose affinity, not least in the political sphere, with many of the basic conceptions of Christendom is so obvious that we are not here baffled by the same sense of unfathomable mystery.

The Hindu conception of sovereignty, unlike other features of Hinduism, is simplicity itself: it is Kingship, Monarchy, the rule of one person, Autocracy; and all that complicated system of checks and balances—Legislatures distinguished from Administrative Authorities, Judicial from Executive, and so forth—upon which the mind of Western Europe and America prides itself (and not without good cause) as the most efficient instrument of government yet devised by the wit of man, the system known as "representative government," is, in essence, repugnant to Indian thought. This is not to say that some adaptation

of it may not be both possible (it clearly is that, as the history of recent constitutional reforms in India shows) and even desirable. But it must be recognised that to the teeming millions of the Indian peasantry Britain's attempt to introduce the machinery of democracy is, and, it would seem, must remain, a stone of stumbling and a rock of offence.

Let it not be thought, however, that the ideal Hindu Sovereign is a tyrant of the type such as the great political thinkers of ancient Greece depicted and held up to obloquy. Common sense alone should suffice to prove the futility of any such idea. It is written in the Mahabharata, "Without a Minister he—the King—cannot govern his kingdom even for three days." In point of fact, Oriental usage dictates, as the normal instrument of government, not a single Minister, but a Council of Ministers, deriving their authority direct from the Sovereign, selected with the utmost care for their integrity of character and general reliability, rather than as representatives of a particular class or caste, or even religious faith. (There have been numerous instances of Moslem Princes with Hindu Viziers and *vice versa*.) Moreover, while the King with his Councillors is at once legislator, administrator, and judge, the King in person remains directly and irrevocably responsible for the welfare of his realm. His Divine Right, if one may apply a term historic in Western political theory, derives from this, that it is the first duty of the Sovereign, and his surest title to merit, to protect his subjects and further their well-being. One may recall in this connection the words of Saladin in Lessing's poem, "Nathan the Wise"—

"One of my titles, Betterer of the World
And of the Law, I hope from this day forth
To bear with right."

In pursuance of this primary duty the Hindu King holds open Durbar, where any of his subjects, even the humblest, may seek redress of grievances. A good King will listen patiently, will pay due heed to the advice of his trusted Ministers, and will conform to the divinely-ordained laws

that govern the structure of society. Anarchy, disorder, oppression of the poor by robbers and unjust judges and tax-gatherers are among the principal evils against which the King has to guard; swift and unerring punishment of wrongdoers is his most potent instrument.

At the root of this theory of the functions of ruler and subject lies the system of caste. The salient feature of this organisation of society is that each of the functions requisite in a civilised community is discharged by a separate section of the people. The worship of the Gods is the business of one caste, fighting of another, banking of another, various "banausic," or vulgar, trades (shoe-making and the like) of others. Similarly, the work of government is conceived to be the business of one particular class, instead of being the common concern of all, as Western thought regards it.

Thus, were it not for the gradual infiltration of Western ideas, the Government could not rely on any marked manifestation of what we know, and prize, as public spirit. The police, for instance, must catch their thieves and murderers themselves, and not expect members of the public to take an active part in that thankless task. It follows, too, that the efficiency of the Central Government and its agents is of immense importance, for unless the Sirkar is stout and strong, and on occasion ruthless, a society organised on the basis of caste stands in perennial danger of disruption.

It is not proposed here to enter upon the fascinating field of Hindu legend or early history. Suffice it to say that, except for some doubtful traces of an aristocratic republic in the sixth century B.C., Hindu history affords no authenticated example of a constitution other than monarchical.

In the normal Hindu State the governing body is drawn from the Kshatriya, or warrior, caste, but so paramount is the need for preserving the State from anarchy that even a member of a lower caste—a Sudra, say—who came forward as a saviour of society would not be condemned in an emergency. "He that becomes a raft on a restless current

or a means of crossing where other means there are none certainly deserves respect in every way" (Mahabharata).

It will be apparent from this cursory survey that the European ideal of a National Government, in which the whole community has a determining voice, is foreign to Hindu modes of thought. Even if a perfect system of representative government according to Western ideas were evolved (and our own constitution, it will be admitted, is far from that), it would still, when transplanted to India, remain an exotic, requiring the utmost skill and unremitting vigilance to keep it from wilting and withering in its uncongenial surroundings. On the other hand, the vitality of the Hindu ideal of kingship is remarkable and incontestable.

We are face to face, therefore, with a puzzle that will require for its solution not merely ingenuity, but goodwill and whole-hearted co-operation between the two partners in what, for lack of a better term, we have called the Commonwealth of India.

It will be argued that the War has changed all this, and that India no longer stands where she did. That, indeed, is obvious, and the enhancement of India's *ixat*, status, prestige in the British Empire as a result of the gallantry of her sons and the patience of her daughters in the world crisis of 1914-1918 is reflected in the documents reprinted in the section headed "India and the Empire." India, whatever be the precise form of her legislative apparatus, stands now in an unassailable position. She has realised, or has the capacity to realise in an ever-increasing measure, the poet's ideal—

"Self-reverence, self-knowledge, self-control,
These three alone lead life to Sovereign Power."

But in considering the bearing of this triumph of loyalty (it is no less) on the specific form of government, it is pertinent to recall the fact that the response of India to the summons of Britain when the great test came was not matter of political bargaining; it was primarily and essentially the spontaneous answer of Princes and peoples to a

clarion call from the King-Emperor himself, and was founded upon the instinctive reaction of her disciplined armed forces to the word of command of their rightful leaders. Nor is this fact, though not always palatable in certain quarters, seriously disputed. It is impossible, for instance, to examine such contemporary evidence as the brochure written by the late Babu Bhupendra Nath Basu soon after the outbreak of the war, *Why India is Heart and Soul with Britain*, without realising that in that dire emergency England reaped the reward of her disinterested labours in what she had, for more than half a century at least, honestly believed to be the true interests of India. Mr. Basu's manifesto was no indiscriminating or panic-stricken pronouncement of a time-server or a man-pleaser; it was the considered judgment of a shrewd, independent, plain-speaking patriot, comparable in its own sphere with the zeal and ardour with which the youth of the Empire had everywhere sprung to arms; and it was the more remarkable because the ardent-spirited Bengali thinker and writer can have had no illusions as to the magnitude of the struggle that was impending and of the sacrifices it would entail, and because the conception of a Nation in arms was altogether foreign to his ancestral prejudices and predilections. But the categorical imperative of Duty is no less an imperative east of Suez than it is—sometimes, it is to be feared, too loudly and vain-gloriously declared to be—in the temperate zone; and India, at the outset of the War at least, was heart and soul with Britain.

India's record in the War, then, while it stands to her lasting glory and pride, affords no warrant for adopting the nostrums of any particular school of constitution-builders. It is, indeed, a commonplace that in dealing with populations so discrepant and of such varying degrees of political development, the utmost caution is needed, but steps be taken that will have to be retraced, with consequent waste of effort and time, and possibly embittered memories. This mistake, at least, one hopes may be avoided in the future if the lessons of the past be taken to heart.

The second head of our inquiry calls for no comment

here. It is obvious that the documents constituting the Royal Charter of India must be given, and read, in full. There can be no tampering with the text; nor, indeed, can any fair-minded critic charge Britain with a desire to depart from the spirit of these most honourable proclamations. *Littera scripta manet.*

The remaining task, of tracing briefly the growth of representative institutions, is more difficult: but the writer, who has had occasion in the course of his official duties all too frequently to test rough-and-ready statements as to accepted policy by reference to the chapter and verse of official Despatches, and to examine with perhaps too meticulous care the part played by various distinguished publicists—men like Sir Henry Sumner Maine, Sir Alfred Lyall, Sir William Lee-Warner and a host of others—in the composition of these Despatches, believes that the trend of British policy since the assumption of the government by the Crown is broadly, but with strict accuracy, expressed in the dictum of Sir Alfred Lyall which has been placed at the head of this section: "It is a true maxim, in political as well as in physical mechanics, that you can have no effective support without resistance or the capacity to resist—that without giving responsibility you cannot secure efficiency." With that principle as a clue, it is possible, he submits, to thread one's way through the maze of Anglo-Indian politics with a sure step and, what is infinitely more important, with the guiding light of an ideal far-shining as a beacon in the darkness. It is not for nothing that the emblem of India under the British Crown is a star.

Of subsidiary aspects of the problem it is not possible, within the limits set, to treat of more than one or two. But any review of policy and of the structure of the constitution would be seriously incomplete without some account of the instrument by which Great Britain has done what she has done in India since the Crown assumed control—in other words, the Services. A section has accordingly been devoted to that subject. The present writer can with a good grace pay this tribute to his fellow-workers in India, of whom he has met all sorts and conditions during his

service in Whitehall. One feels, if the pleasantry may be permitted, that so many of these are estopped from saying *arbi et orbi* what they would like to say of their own work by the consideration that patting oneself on the back is an operation notoriously difficult to perform gracefully. A stay-at-home collaborator may be able in this respect to meet a long-felt want. Be that as it may, it is in no spirit of brag, but with a real, sincere, and increasing admiration for the Sahibs (and Memsahibs) whose devotion and loyalty have contributed so notably to the upbuilding of the India of to-day, that the all-too-scanty selection of papers on this subject has been made.

On the subject of Education the writer, though (or because) it is his own main interest, does not venture to enlarge. Everyone has been educated, after a fashion, some better, some worse; everyone, therefore, is qualified to regard himself as an expert in this subject. The field as regards India has been so thoroughly explored, quite recently, in Mr. Arthur Mayhew's book, *The Education of India*, that it would be presumptuous on the part of one who has never even lectured in an Indian College to offer any observations of his own. He has contented himself, therefore, with including, in its entirety, a single chapter from a Report which is itself a mine of information for those who seriously desire instruction in the facts and tendencies that must be taken into account—the Report of the Calcutta University Commission provided over by the present Master of University College, Oxford, Sir Michael Sadler. This chapter, entitled "The Student in Bengal," is a searching but sympathetic analysis by a group of understanding men of the central fact, or datum, that necessarily underlies all educational problems—namely, the character of a student—the *corpus vile* of all educational experiment, at bottom much the same, one may say, in every part of the globe, though profoundly affected by the specific circumstances of his, or her, home life and ancestral beliefs. The reproduction of this chapter together with a few cognate passages as they were approved by a body of acknowledged experts who had spent the best part of two years investigating

the facts on the spot seemed likely to be more illuminating than a narrative of the stages by which those responsible for the spread of education in India have achieved such measure of success as has attended their efforts.

Finally, a brief record is given of the part taken by India in the Great War. To this a tribute has been paid in words of burning eloquence by a master of the arts of both oratory and administration, Lord Birkenhead; and no more fitting *opus* could well be chosen. It gives graphic and stately utterance to the truth which it is the main purpose of this collection of State Papers to establish—namely, that, while East is East and West is West, the twain did meet, and have still, and always will have, the opportunity of meeting on the solid ground of disinterested loyalty and service to a common ideal, animating old and young, men and women alike, a loyalty sealed now, once for all, by memories too sacred to be described. *Vivere non dicunt qui didicere mori.*

P. H. D.

Armistice Day, 1929.

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P. H. D.

LOYAL INDIA

SECTION I.—THE ROYAL CHARTER

Queen Victoria's Proclamation, 1858.

PROCLAMATION by the QUEEN IN COUNCIL to the PRINCES, CHIEFS, and PEOPLE of INDIA (published by the GOVERNOR-GENERAL at ALLAHABAD, 1st November, 1858).

VICTORIA, by the Grace of God of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and of the Colonies and Dependencies thereof in Europe, Asia, Africa, America, and Australasia, Queen, Defender of the Faith.

Whereas, for divers weighty reasons, We have resolved, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in Parliament assembled, to take upon Ourselves the Government of the Territories in India heretofore administered in trust for Us by the Honourable East India Company;

Now, therefore, We do by these Presents notify and declare that, by the advice and consent aforesaid, We have taken upon Ourselves the said Government; and We hereby call upon all Our Subjects within the said Territories to be faithful, and to bear true Allegiance to Us, Our Heirs, and Successors, and to submit themselves to the authority of those whom We may hereafter, from time to time, see fit to appoint to administer the Government of Our said Territories, in Our name and on Our behalf:

And We, reposing especial trust and confidence in the loyalty, ability, and judgment of Our right trusty and well-beloved Cousin and Councillor, Charles John Viscount

Canning, do hereby constitute and appoint him, the Viscount Canning, to be Our first Viceroy and Governor General in and over Our said Territories, and to administer the Government thereof in Our name, and generally to act in Our name and on Our behalf, subject to such Orders and Regulations as he shall, from time to time, receive from Us through one of Our Principal Secretaries of State :

And We do hereby confirm in their several Offices Civil and Military, all Persons now employed in the Service of the Honourable East India Company, subject to Our future pleasure, and to such Laws and Regulations as may hereafter be enacted.

We hereby announce to the Native Princes of India that all Treaties and Engagements made with them by or under the authority of the Honourable East India Company are by Us accepted, and will be scrupulously maintained, and We look for the like observance on their part.

We desire no extension of Our present territorial Possessions; and while We will permit no aggression upon Our Dominions or Our Rights to be attempted with impunity, We shall sanction no encroachment on those of others. We shall respect the Rights, Dignity, and Honour of Native Princes as Our own; and We desire that they, as well as Our own Subjects, should enjoy that Prosperity and that social Advancement which can only be secured by internal Peace and good Government.

We hold Ourselves bound to the Natives of Our Indian Possessions by the same obligations of Duty which bind Us to all Our other Subjects; and those Obligations, by the Blessing of Almighty God, We shall faithfully and conscientiously fulfil.

Firmly relying Ourselves on the truth of Christianity, and acknowledging with gratitude the solace of Religion, We disclaim alike the Right and the Desire to impose Our Convictions on any of Our Subjects. We declare it to be Our Royal Will and Pleasure that none be in any wise favoured, none molested or disquieted by reason of their Religious Faith or Observances; but that all shall alike

enjoy the equal and impartial protection of the Law : and We do strictly charge and enjoin all those who may be in authority under Us, that they abstain from all interference with the Religious Belief or Worship of any of Our Subjects, on pain of Our highest Displeasure.

And it is Our further Will that, so far as may be, Our Subjects, of whatever Race or Creed, be freely and impartially admitted to Offices in Our Service, the Duties of which they may be qualified, by their education, ability, and integrity, duly to discharge.

We know, and respect, the feelings of attachment with which the Natives of India regard the Lands inherited by them from their Ancestors ; and We desire to protect them in all Rights connected therewith, subject to the equitable demands of the State ; and We will that generally, in framing and administering the Law, due regard be paid to the ancient Rights, Usages, and Customs of India.

We deeply lament the evils and misery which have been brought upon India by the acts of ambitious Men, who have deceived their Countrymen, by false reports, and led them into open Rebellion. Our Power has been shown by the Suppression of that Rebellion in the field ; We desire to show Our Mercy, by pardoning the Offences of those who have been thus misled, but who desire to return to the path of Duty.

Already in one Province, with a view to stop the further effusion of blood, and to hasten the Pacification of Our Indian Dominions, Our Viceroy and Governor-General has held out the expectation of Pardon, on certain terms, to the great majority of those who, in the late unhappy Disturbances, have been guilty of Offences against Our Government, and has declared the Punishment which will be inflicted on those whose Crimes place them beyond the reach of forgiveness. We approve and confirm the said act of Our Viceroy and Governor-General, and do further announce and proclaim as follows :

Our Clemency will be extended to all Offenders, save and except those who have been, or shall be, convicted of having directly taken part in the Murder of British Subjects.

With regard to such, the Demands of Justice forbid the exercise of mercy.

To those who have willingly given asylum to Murderers, knowing them to be such, or who may have acted as leaders or instigators in Revolt, their lives alone can be guaranteed, but in apportioning the Penalty due to such Persons, full consideration will be given to the circumstances under which they have been induced to throw off their allegiance, and large indulgence will be shown to those whose Crimes may appear to have originated in too credulous acceptance of the false reports circulated by designing Men.

To all others in Arms against the Government, We hereby promise unconditional Pardon, Amnesty, and Oblivion of all Offence against Ourselves, Our Crown and Dignity, on their return to their homes and peaceful pursuits.

It is Our Royal Pleasure that these Terms of Grace and Amnesty should be extended to all those who comply with their Conditions before the First Day of January next.

When, by the Blessing of Providence, internal Tranquillity shall be restored, it is Our earnest Desire to stimulate the peaceful Industry of India, to promote Works of Public Utility and Improvement, and to administer its Government for the benefit of all Our Subjects resident therein. In their Prosperity will be Our Strength; in their Contentment Our Security; and in their Gratitude Our best Reward. And may the God of all Power grant to Us, and to those in authority under Us, Strength to carry out these Our Wishes for the good of Our people.

King Edward's Proclamation, 1908.

PROCLAMATION of the KING-EMPEROR to the PRINCES and PEOPLES of INDIA (read by HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY in DURBAR at JODHPUR on 2nd November, 1908).

It is now fifty years since Queen Victoria, my beloved mother, and my August Predecessor on the throne of these realms, for divers weighty reasons, with the advice and

consent of Parliament, took upon herself the government of the territories theretofore administered by the East India Company. I deem this a fitting anniversary on which to greet the Princes and Peoples of India, in commemoration of the exalted task then solemnly undertaken. Half a century is but a brief span in your long annals, yet this half-century that ends to-day will stand amid the floods of your historic ages, a far-shining landmark. The proclamation of the direct supremacy of the Crown sealed the unity of Indian Government and opened a new era. The journey was arduous, and the advance may have sometimes seemed slow; but the incorporation of many strangely diversified communities, and of some three hundred millions of the human race, under British guidance and control has proceeded steadfastly and without pause. We survey our labours of the past half-century with clear gaze and good conscience.

Difficulties such as attend all human rule in every age and place, have risen up from day to day. They have been faced by the servants of the British Crown with toil and courage and patience, with deep counsel and a resolution that has never faltered nor shaken. If errors have occurred, the agents of my Government have spared no pains and no self-sacrifice to correct them; if abuses have been proved, vigorous hands have laboured to apply a remedy.

No secret of famine or even the scourge of drought and plague, but experienced administrators have done all that skill and devotion are capable of doing to mitigate those dire calamities of Nature. For a longer period than was ever known in your land before, you have escaped the dire calamities of War within your borders. Internal peace has been unbroken.

In the great charter of 1858 Queen Victoria gave you noble assurance of her earnest desire to stimulate the peaceful industry of India, to promote works of public utility and improvement, and to administer the government for the benefit of all resident therein. The schemes that have been diligently framed and executed for promoting your material convenience and advance—schemes unsur-

passed in their magnitude and their boldness—bear witness before the world to the zeal with which that benignant promise has been fulfilled.

The rights and privileges of the Feudatory Princes and Ruling Chiefs have been respected, preserved, and guarded; and the loyalty of their allegiance has been unswerving. No man among my subjects has been favoured, molested, or disquieted, by reason of his religious belief or worship. All men have enjoyed protection of the law. The law itself has been administered without disrespect to creed or caste, or to usages and ideas rooted in your civilisation; it has been simplified in form, and its machinery adjusted to the requirements of ancient communities slowly entering a new world.

The charge confided to my Government concerns the destinies of countless multitudes of men now and for ages to come; and it is a paramount duty to repress with a stern and guileless conspiracies that have no just cause and no serious aim. These conspiracies I know to be abhorrent to the loyal and faithful character of the vast hosts of my Indian subjects, and I will not suffer them to turn me aside from my task of building up the fabric of security and order.

Unwilling that this historic anniversary should pass without some signal mark of Royal clemency and grace, I have directed that, as was ordered on the memorable occasion of the Coronation Durbar in 1903, the sentences of persons whom our courts have duly punished for offences against the law, should be remitted, or in various degrees reduced; and it is my wish that such wrongdoers may remain mindful of this act of mercy, and may conduct themselves without offence henceforth.

Steps are being continuously taken towards obliterating distinctions of race as the test for access to posts of public authority and power. In this path I confidently expect and intend the progress henceforward to be steadfast and sure, as education spreads, experience ripens, and the lessons of responsibility are well learned by the keen intelligence and apt capabilities of India.

From the first, the principle of representative institutions began to be gradually introduced, and the time has come when, in the judgment of my Viceroy and Governor-General and others of my counsellors, that principle may be prudently extended. Important classes among you, representing ideas that have been fostered and encouraged by British rule, claim equality of citizenship, and a greater share in legislation and government. The politic satisfaction of such a claim will strengthen, not impair, existing authority and power. Administration will be all the more efficient, if the officers who conduct it have greater opportunities of regular contact with those whom it affects, and with those who influence and reflect common opinion about it. I will not speak of the measures that are now being diligently framed for these objects. They will speedily be made known to you, and will, I am very confident, mark a notable stage in the beneficent progress of your affairs.

I recognise the valour and fidelity of my Indian troops, and at the New Year I have ordered that opportunity should be taken to show in substantial form this, my high appreciation, of their martial instincts, their splendid discipline, and their faithful readiness of service.

The welfare of India was one of the objects dearest to the heart of Queen Victoria. By me, ever since my visit in 1875, the interests of India, its Princes and Peoples, have been watched with an affectionate solicitude that time cannot weaken. My dear Son, the Prince of Wales, and the Princess of Wales, returned from their sojourn among you with warm attachment to your land, and true and earnest interest in its well-being and content. These sincere feelings of active sympathy and hope for India on the part of my Royal House and Line, only represent, and they do most truly represent, the deep and united will and purpose of the people of this Kingdom.

May Divine protection and favour strengthen the wisdom and mutual goodwill that are needed for the achievement of a task as glorious as was ever committed to rulers and subjects in any State or Empire of recorded time.

King George's Message to the Princes and Peoples of India on his Accession, 24th May, 1910.

THE lamented and unlooked-for death of my dearly loved father calls me to ascend the Throne that comes to me as heir of a great and ancient line. As King and Emperor, I greet the Princes, the Ruling Chiefs, and all the other dwellers in my Indian dominions. I offer you my heartfelt thanks for the touching and abundant manifestation that this event has called forth from all the diverse races, classes, and faiths in India, of loyalty to the Sovereign Crown, and personal attachment to its wearers.

Queen Victoria, of revered memory, addressed her Indian subjects and the heads of Feudatory States when she assumed the direct government in 1858; and her August son, my father, of honoured and beloved name, commemorated the same most notable event in his address to you some fifty years later. These are the charters of the noble and benignant spirit of Imperial rule, and by that spirit in all my time I will faithfully abide.

By the wish of his late Majesty, and following his own example, I visited India five years ago, accompanied by my Royal Consort. We became personally acquainted with great kingdoms known to history, with monuments of a civilisation older than our own, with ancient customs and ways of life, with native Rulers, with the peoples, the cities, towns, villages, throughout those vast territories.

Never can either the vivid impressions or the affectionate associations of that wonderful journey vanish or grow dim.

Firmly I confide in your dutiful and active co-operation in the high and arduous tasks that lie before me; and I count upon your ready response to the earnest sympathy with the well-being of India that must ever be the inspiration of my rule.

GEORGE R.I.

King George's Proclamation on the Passing of the Act for the Reform of the Indian Constitution, 23rd December, 1919.

GEORGE V, by the grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and of the British Dominions beyond the seas, King, Defender of the Faith, Emperor of India. To my Viceroy and Governor-General, to the Princes of Indian States, and to all my subjects in India, of whatsoever race or creed, greeting.

Another epoch has been reached to-day in the annals of India. I have given my Royal Assent to an Act which will take its place among the great historic measures passed by the Parliament of this Realm for the better government of India and for the greater contentment of her people. The Acts of 1773 and 1784 were designed to establish a regular system of administration and justice under the Honourable East India Company. The Act of 1833 opened the door for Indians to public office and employment. The Act of 1858 transferred the administration from the Company to the Crown and laid the foundations of public life which exist in India to-day. The Act of 1861 sowed the seed of representative institutions, and the seed was quickened into life by the Act of 1909. The Act which has now become law entrusts the elected representatives of the people with a definite share in the Government and points the way to full responsible government hereafter. If, as I confidently hope, the policy which this Act inaugurates should achieve its purpose, the results will be momentous in the story of human progress; and it is timely and fitting that I should invite you to-day to consider the past and to join me in my hopes of the future.

Ever since the welfare of India was confided to us, it has been held as a sacred trust by Our Royal House and Line. In 1858 Queen Victoria of revered memory solemnly declared herself bound to her Indian subjects by the same obligations of duty as to all her other subjects; and she assured to them religious freedom and the equal and impartial protection of the law. In his message to the Indian people in 1903, my dear father, King Edward VII,

any trace of bitterness between my people and those who are responsible for my government should be obliterated. Let those who in their eagerness for political progress have broken the law in the past respect it in the future. Let it become possible for those who are charged with the maintenance of peaceful and orderly government to forget the extravagances which they have had to curb. A new era is opening. Let it begin with a common determination among my people and my officers to work together for a common purpose. I therefore direct my Viceroy to exercise in my name and on my behalf my Royal clemency to political offenders in the fullest measure which in his judgment is compatible with the public safety. I desire him to extend it on this condition to persons who for offences against the State or under any special or emergency legislation are suffering imprisonment or restrictions upon their liberty. I trust that this leniency will be justified by the future conduct of those whom it benefits, and that all my subjects will so demean themselves as to render it unnecessary to enforce the laws for such offences hereafter.

Simultaneously with the new constitutions in British India I have gladly assented to the establishment of a Chamber of Princes. I trust that its counsel may be fruitful of lasting good to the Princes and the States themselves, may advance the interests which are common to their territories and to British India, and may be to the advantage of the Empire as a whole. I take the occasion again to assure the Princes of India of my determination ever to maintain unimpaired their privileges, rights, and dignities.

It is my intention to send my dear son, the Prince of Wales, to India next winter to inaugurate on my behalf the new Chamber of Princes and the new constitutions in British India. May he find mutual goodwill and confidence prevailing among those on whom will rest the future service of the country, so that success may crown their labours, and progressive enlightenment attend their administration. And, with all my people, I pray to Almighty God that by His Wisdom and under His guidance India

may be led to greater prosperity and contentment, and may grow to the fullness of political freedom.

Address by H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught at the inauguration of the Council of State and Legislative Assembly, 9th February, 1921.

YOUR EXCELLENCY AND GENTLEMEN OF THE INDIAN LEGISLATURE:

I am the bearer of a message from His Majesty the King-Emperor. It is this:

HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY THE KING-EMPEROR'S MESSAGE TO THE INDIAN LEGISLATURES

Little more than a year has elapsed since I gave my assent to the Act of Parliament which set up a constitution for British India. The intervening time has been fully occupied in perfecting the necessary machinery; and you are now at the opening of the first Session of the Legislatures which the Act established. On this auspicious occasion I desire to send to you, and to the members of the various Provincial Councils, my congratulations and my earnest good wishes for success in your labours and theirs.

For years, it may be for generations, patriotic and loyal Indians have dreamed of Swaraj for their motherland. To-day you have the beginnings of Swaraj within my Empire, and the widest scope and ample opportunity for progress to the liberty which my other Dominions enjoy.

On you, the first representatives of the people in the new Councils, there rests a very special responsibility. For on you it lies, by the conduct of your business and the justice of your judgments, to convince the world of the wisdom of this great constitutional change. But on you it also lies to remember the many millions of your fellow-countrymen who are not yet qualified for a share in political life, to work for their upliftment and to cherish their interests as your own.

I shall watch your work with unfailing sympathy, and with a resolute faith in your determination to do your duty to India and the Empire.

As you know, it had been the intention of His Majesty to send the Prince of Wales, the Heir to the Throne, with His greetings and His authority, to open the Chambers of the new Indian Legislature. Events did not permit of his coming, and I received His Majesty's commands to perform these functions on His behalf. In me the King selected the eldest member of the Royal House, and the only surviving son of Queen Victoria, whose love and care for India will ever live in its peoples' memory. I have myself a deep affection for India, having served it for years and made many friends among its Princes and leaders. It is thus with no common pleasure that I am here to receive you on this memorable occasion.

Throughout the centuries Delhi has witnessed the pomp and ceremony of many historic assemblages. Two at least of these are remembered by most of you. Twenty years ago, I took part in that brilliant concourse which celebrated the accession of my late brother, King Edward the Seventh. Nine years later, amid circumstances of unforgettable splendour, King George the Fifth and His Queen received in person the homage of the Princes and peoples of India. Our ceremony to-day may lack the colour and romance of the gatherings I have mentioned, though it does not yield to them in the sincerity of its loyalty. But it strikes a new and different note: it marks the awakening of a great nation to the power of its nationhood.

In the annals of the world there is not, so far as I know, an exact parallel for the constitutional change which this function initiates; there is certainly no parallel for the method of that change. Political freedom has often been won by revolution, by tumult, by civil war, at the price of peace and public safety. How rarely has it been the free gift of one people to another, in response to a growing wish for greater liberty, and to growing evidence of fitness for its enjoyment! Such, however, is the position of India to-day; and I congratulate most warmly those of you, old in the service of your motherland, who have striven, through good report and ill, for the first instalment of that gift, and to prove India worthy of it. I trust that you, and

those who take up your mantles after you, will move faithfully and steadfastly along the road which is opened to-day.

When India became a dependency of the British Crown, she passed under a British guardianship, which has laboured with glorious results to protect India from the consequences of her own history at home, and from the complications of international pressure abroad. Autocratic, however, as was the Government then inaugurated, it was based on the principles laid down by Her late Majesty Queen Victoria in that famous Proclamation of 1858, of which the key-note is contained in the following passage: "In their prosperity will be our strength; in their contentment our security, and in their gratitude our best reward." And though there have been occasions on which the tranquillity of this great country has been endangered by disturbances and disorders, which have necessitated the use of military force, speaking on behalf of His Majesty and with the assent of His Government, I repudiate, in the most emphatic manner, the idea that the administration of India has been or ever can be based on principles of force or terrorism. All Governments are liable to be confronted with situations which can be dealt with only by measures outside the ordinary law; but the employment of such measures is subject to clear and definite limitations; and His Majesty's Government have always insisted, and will always insist, on the observance of these limitations as jealously in the case of India as in that of England herself.

As His Excellency the Viceroy has observed, the principle of autocracy has all been abandoned. Its retention would have been incompatible with that contentment which had been declared by Her late Majesty Queen Victoria to be the aim of British rule, and would have been inconsistent with the legitimate demands and aspirations of the Indian people and the stage of political development which they have attained. Henceforward, in an ever-increasing degree, India will have to bear her own burdens. They are not light. The times which have seen the conception and birth of the new constitution are full of trouble. The war

which ended two years ago has done more than alter the boundaries of nations. The confusion which it brought in its train will abate in time; but the world has not passed unchanged through the fire. New aspirations have awakened, new problems been created, and old ones invested with a stinging urgency. India has escaped the worst ravages of the War and its sequels, and is thus in some respects better fitted than many other countries to confront the future. Her material resources are unimpaired, her financial system is sound, and her industries are ready for rapid expansion. But she cannot hope to escape altogether the consequences of the world-wide struggle. The countries of the earth are linked together as never before. A contagious ferment of scepticism and unrest is seething everywhere in the minds of men; and its workings are plainly visible in India. She has other problems peculiarly her own. Inexperience in political methods will be irksome at times. The electorates will have to be taught their powers and responsibilities. And difficulties, which are negligible in smaller and more homogeneous countries, will arise in handling questions of religion and race and custom.

Gentlemen of the Indian Legislature, such are the labours which await you. They will have to be carried on under the eyes of a watching world, interested but not uncritical—of the sister nations who welcome you into their partnership in the British Empire, of that wider Council of nations which look to India as the future guide of the unknown forces of Asia. Your individual responsibility is great. You may perhaps be apprehensive that the arena for practical issues of immediate moment will be rather the Provincial Councils than the central legislature. You may feel that the Ministers in the Provinces will be in closer touch with popular causes and have larger opportunities of public service. But this is true only in a very limited sense. It is the clear intention of the Act of 1919 that the policy and decisions of the Government of India should be influenced, to an extent incomparably greater than they have been in the past, by the views of the Indian Legis-

lature; and the Government will give the fullest possible effect, consistent with their own responsibilities to Parliament, to this principle of the new constitution. From now onwards your influence will extend to every sphere of the Central Government; it will be felt in every part of its administration. You are concerned not with the province, but with all British India, and statesmanship could not ask for a nobler field of exercise. Upon the manner in which your influence is exerted, upon the wisdom and foresight displayed in your deliberations, upon the spirit in which you approach your great task, will depend the progress of India towards the goal of complete self-government.

To ensure, so far as political machinery can ensure, that the legislature is fitly equipped for those lofty duties, two Chambers have been constituted. In the Council of State it has been the intention of Parliament to create a true Senate, a body of "elder statesmen" endowed with mature knowledge, experience of the world, and the consequent sobriety of judgment. Its functions will be to exercise a revising but not an overriding influence, for caution and moderation, and to review and adjust the acts of the larger Chamber. To the Assembly it will fall to voice more directly the needs of the people. Soldier and sailor, owners of land and dwellers in cities, Hindu and Mohammedan, Sikh and Christian, all ranks and communities, will have in it their share of representation. Each class and each community can bring its own contribution, its own special knowledge, to the common deliberations. And may I say in passing that help will be expected from the representatives of the British non-official community. They have done great service to the trade and industry of India in the past; will they now, with their special experience of representative institutions in their own land, lend building up India's political life and

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composed it is both inevitable and
ences of opinion and aims should
Struggle is a condition of progress

LOYAL INDIA

in the political as in the natural world. Politics is, in fact, the process of the clash of wills, sympathies, and interests striving for adjustment in the sphere of legislation and government. But it is the great virtue of representative institutions that they tend to replace the blind encounter of conflicting interests by reasoned discussion, compromise, toleration, and the mutual respect for honourable opponents. The extent to which a body of law-makers shows itself capable of controlling passion and prejudice is the measure of its capacity for enduring success. For these reflections I make no apology. They must already have been present to your minds; but they constitute the strongest plea for what all friends of India most desire to see—a greater unity of purpose among her various communities. In all your deliberations let there be a conscious striving for unity in essentials, that unity which has been lacking in India in the past, but may yet become, if steadfastly nurtured, her greatest strength.

Gentlemen of the Indian Legislature, hitherto I have spoken of your duties. Let me close with a word on your privileges. On you, who have been elected the first members of the two Chambers, a signal honour has fallen. Your names will go down to history as those whom India chose to lead the van of her march towards constitutional liberty. I pray that success will attend you, and that the result of your labours will be worthy of the trust that India has reposed in you.

As you are approaching the end of your term of office in almost every country of the world the members of the Legislature have been critical and anxious, in India not less, and I know well the vast and well-nigh overwhelming anxieties which you have been called upon to face.

I know well the high sense of duty which has always prompted you, the single purpose which has possessed you, the never-failing courage which has sustained you.

From the first moment you held one special object in view: you determined, God willing, to lead India to a definite stage in her constitutional advancement. Through

all distractions and difficulties you held to that determination, and to-day, when your thoughts are turning to the homeland and to the hour when your mantle will pass to other shoulders, when you think regretfully, as all men must in such an hour, of all the things you would have wished to do had fortune been more kind, still, as you look round this Assembly, Your Excellency must surely feel "For this I have striven, and in this I have won."

I wish to offer my warm congratulations to you on the translation to-day into life and reality of that far-seeing scheme of political progress of which you and the Secretary of State were the authors. It must be no small pride to a statesman who had been directing the destinies of India during these difficult years that he sees, while still in office, the foundations securely laid of that edifice which he helped to plan with infinite care, in face of much misunderstanding, and yet with the full assurance of a nation's future gratitude. I trust that Your Excellency's successor and the devoted public servants who will be his agents and advisers will find in the new Indian Legislature an alleviation of labour, a faithful mirror of India's needs and wishes, and a trusty link between themselves and the vast millions under their care.

And now I declare duly open the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly constituted under the Government of India Act, 1919.

Gentlemen, I have finished my part in to-day's official proceedings. May I claim your patience and forbearance while I say a few words of a personal nature?

Since I landed I have felt around me bitterness and estrangement between those who have been and should be friends. The shadow of Amritsar has lengthened over the fair face of India. I know how deep is the concern felt by His Majesty the King-Emperor at the terrible chapter of events in the Punjab. No one can deplore those events more intensely than I do myself.

I have reached a time of life when I most desire to heal wounds and to reunite those who have been disunited. In what must be, I fear, my last visit to the India I love so well,

here in the new capital, inaugurating a new constitution, I am moved to make you a personal appeal, put in the simple words that come from my heart, not to be coldly and critically interpreted.

My experience tells me that misunderstandings usually mean mistakes on either side. As an old friend of India, I appeal to you all—British and Indians—to bury along with the dead past the mistakes and misunderstandings of the past, to forgive where you have to forgive, and to join hands and to work together to realise the hopes that arise from to-day.

THE HONOURABLE MR. MUDDIMAN : May it please Your Royal Highness: We, His Majesty the King-Emperor's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Members of the Council of State, beg leave to request that Your Royal Highness may be pleased to offer our humble thanks to His Imperial Majesty for the gracious message which has been conveyed to our Council. We beg further to express our profound gratitude for Your Royal Highness' presence on this most auspicious occasion.

THE HONOURABLE MR. WHYTE : May it please Your Royal Highness: We, His Majesty the King-Emperor's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Members of the Legislative Assembly, beg leave to request that Your Royal Highness may be pleased to offer our humble thanks to His Majesty the King-Emperor for the gracious message which has been conveyed to the Legislative Assembly by Your Royal Highness. We offer our profound gratitude for Your presence on this most auspicious occasion, and our warm appreciation of the terms in which Your Royal Highness has been pleased to address the Indian Legislature.

H.E. THE VICEROY : Before declaring these proceedings closed, I should like to add one or two words to the speech which I made at the opening to-day. No one can have listened unmoved to the personal appeal which has been made to all of us in the closing words of His Royal Highness'

speech. "Cannot we all bury along with the dead past the mistakes and misunderstandings of the past, forgive where we have to forgive, and join hands and work together?" I use His Royal Highness' words; I can use no better.

I now declare the proceedings closed.

SECTION II.—THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION

"It is a true maxim, in political as well as in physical mechanics, that you can have no effective support without resistance, or the capacity to resist—that without giving responsibility you cannot secure efficiency."—SIR ALFRED LYALL.

PETITION of the EAST INDIA COMPANY to PARLIAMENT,
FEBRUARY, 1858.

(Extract.)

To the Right Honourable, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled,

Humbly sheweth,

That your Petitioners, at their own expense, and by the agency of their own civil and military servants, originally acquired for this country its magnificent empire in the East.

That the foundations of this empire were laid by your Petitioners, at that time neither aided nor controlled by Parliament, at the same period at which a succession of administrations under the control of Parliament were losing to the Crown of Great Britain another great empire on the opposite side of the Atlantic.

That during the period of about a century which has since elapsed, the Indian possessions of this country have been governed and defended from the resources of those possessions, without the smallest cost to the British Exchequer, which, to the best of your Petitioners' knowledge and belief, cannot be said of any other of the numerous foreign dependencies of the Crown.

That it being manifestly improper that the administration of any British possession should be independent of the general Government of the Empire, Parliament provided,

in 1783, that a department of the Imperial Government should have full cognisance of, and power of control over, the acts of your Petitioners in the administration of India; since which time the home branch of the Indian Government has been conducted by the joint counsels, and on the joint responsibility, of your Petitioners and of a Minister of the Crown.

That this arrangement has at subsequent periods undergone reconsideration from the Legislature, and various comprehensive and careful Parliamentary inquiries have been made into its practical operation; the result of which has been, on each occasion, a grant to your Petitioners of the powers exercised by them in the administration of India.

That the last of these occasions was so recent as 1833, in which year the arrangements which had existed for nearly three-quarters of a century were, with certain modifications, re-enacted, and still subsist.

That, notwithstanding, your Petitioners have received an intimation from Her Majesty's Ministers of their intention to propose to Parliament a Bill for the purpose of placing the government of Her Majesty's East Indian dominions under the direct authority of the Crown—a change necessarily involving the abolition of the East India Company as an instrument of government.

That your Petitioners have not been informed of the reasons which have induced Her Majesty's Ministers, without any previous inquiry, to come to the resolution of putting an end to a system of administration, which Parliament, after inquiry, deliberately confirmed and sanctioned less than five years ago, and which, in its modified form, has not been in operation quite four years, and cannot be considered to have undergone a sufficient trial during that short period.

That your Petitioners do not understand that Her Majesty's Ministers impute any failure to those arrangements, or bring any charge, either great or small, against your Petitioners. But the time at which the proposal is made compels your Petitioners to regard it as arising from the calamitous events which have recently occurred in India.

That your Petitioners challenge the most searching investigation into the mutiny of the Bengal army, and the causes, whether remote or immediate, which produced that mutiny. They have instructed the Government of India to appoint a commission for conducting such an inquiry on the spot. And it is their most anxious wish that a similar inquiry may be instituted in this country by your (Lordships') Honourable House; in order that it may be ascertained whether anything either in the constitution of the Home Government of India, or in the conduct of those by whom it has been administered, has had any share in producing the mutiny, or has in any way impeded the measures for its suppression; and whether the mutiny itself, or any circumstance connected with it, affords any evidence of the failure of the arrangements under which India is at present administered.

That, even were it true that these arrangements had failed, the failure could constitute no reason for divesting the East India Company of its functions, and transferring them to Her Majesty's Government. For, under the existing system, Her Majesty's Government have the deciding voice. The duty imposed upon the Court of Directors is to originate measures and frame drafts of instructions. Even had they been remiss in this duty, their remissness, however discreditable to themselves, could in no way absolve the responsibility of Her Majesty's Government, since the Minister for India possesses, and has frequently exercised, the power of requiring that the Court of Directors should take any subject into consideration, and prepare a draft despatch for his approval. Her Majesty's Government are thus in the fullest sense accountable for all that has been done, and for all that has been forborne or omitted to be done. Your Petitioners, on the other hand, are accountable only in so far as the act or omission has been promoted by themselves.

That, under these circumstances, if the administration of India had been a failure, it would, your Petitioners submit, have been somewhat unreasonable to expect that a remedy would be found in annihilating the branch of the ruling

authority which could not be the one principally in fault, and might be altogether blameless, in order to concentrate all powers in the branch which had necessarily the decisive share in every error, real or supposed. To believe that the administration of India would have been more free from error had it been conducted by a Minister of the Crown without the aid of the Court of Directors, would be to believe that the Minister, with full power to govern India as he pleased, has governed ill because he has had the assistance of experienced and responsible advisers.

That your Petitioners, however, do not seek to vindicate themselves at the expense of any other authority. They claim their full share of the responsibility of the manner in which India has practically been governed. That responsibility is to them not a subject of humiliation, but of pride. They are conscious that their advice and initiative have been, and have deserved to be, a great and potent element in the conduct of affairs in India. And they feel complete assurance that the more attention is bestowed and the more light thrown upon India and its administration, the more evident it will become that the government in which they have borne a part has been not only one of the purest in intention, but one of the most beneficent in act, ever known among mankind; that, during the last and present generation in particular, it has been, in all departments, the most rapidly improving government in the world; and that, at the time when this change is proposed, a greater number of important improvements are in a state of more rapid progress than at any former period. And they are satisfied that whatever further improvements may be hereafter effected in India can only consist in the development of germs already planted, and in building on foundations already laid, under their authority, and in a great measure by their express instructions. . . .

That your Petitioners may venture to assume that it will not be proposed to vest the home portion of the administration of India in a Minister of the Crown, without the adjunct of a council composed of statesmen experienced in Indian affairs. Her Majesty's Ministers cannot but be

aware that the knowledge necessary for governing a foreign country, and in particular a country like India, requires as much special study as any other profession, and cannot possibly be possessed by any one who has not devoted a considerable portion of his life to the acquisition of it.

That in constituting a body of experienced advisers to be associated with the Indian Minister, your Petitioners consider it indispensable to bear in mind that this body should not only be qualified to advise the Minister, but also, by its advice, to exercise, to a certain degree, a moral check. It cannot be expected that the Minister, as a general rule, should himself know India; while he will be exposed to perpetual solicitations from individuals and bodies, either entirely ignorant of that country, or knowing only enough of it to impose on those who know still less than themselves, and having very frequently objects in view other than the interests or good government of India. The influences likely to be brought to bear on him through the organs of public opinion will, in the majority of cases, be equally misleading. The public opinion of England, itself necessarily unacquainted with Indian affairs, can only follow the promptings of those who take most pains to influence it, and these will generally be such as have some private interest to serve. It is, therefore, your Petitioners submit, of the utmost importance that any council which may form a part of the Home Government of India should derive sufficient weight from its constitution, and from the relation it occupies to the Minister, to be a substantial barrier against those inroads of self-interest and ignorance in this country from which the Government of India has hitherto been comparatively free, but against which it would be too much to expect that Parliament should of itself afford a sufficient protection. . . .

That your Petitioners have heard it asserted that, in consequence of what is called the double Government, the Indian authorities are less responsible to Parliament and the nation, than other departments of the government of the Empire, since it is impossible to know on which of the two branches of home government the responsibility ought to

rest. Your Petitioners fearlessly affirm that this impression is not only groundless, but the very reverse of the truth. The home Government of India is not less, but more responsible, than any other branch of the administration of the State, inasmuch as the President of the Board of Commissioners, who is the Minister for India, is as completely responsible as any other of Her Majesty's Ministers, and, in addition, his advisers also are responsible. It is always certain, in the case of India, that the President of the Board of Commissioners must have either commanded or sanctioned all that has been done. No more than this, your Petitioners submit, can be known in the case of the head of any department of Her Majesty's Government. For it is not [the case], nor can it rationally be supposed, that any Minister of the Crown is without trusted advisers; and the Minister for India must, for obvious reasons, be more dependent than any other of Her Majesty's Ministers, upon the advice of persons whose lives have been devoted to the subject on which their advice has been given. But in the case of India, such advisers are assigned to him by the constitution of the Government, and they are as much responsible for what they advise as he for what he ordains; while in other departments the Minister's only official advisers are the subordinates in his office—men often of great skill and experience, but not in the public eye, and unknown to the public even by name; official nature precludes the possibility of ascertaining what advice they give, and they are responsible only to the Minister himself. By what application of terms this can be called responsible government, and the joint government of your Petitioners and the India Board an irresponsible government, your Petitioners think it unnecessary to ask.

That without knowing the plan on which Her Majesty's Ministers contemplate the transfer to the Crown of the servants of the Company, your Petitioners find themselves unable to approach the delicate question of the Indian Army, further than to point out that the high military qualities of the officers of that Army have unquestionably sprung in a great degree from its being a principal and sub-

stantive army, holding Her Majesty's commissions and enjoying equal rank with Her Majesty's officers, and your Petitioners would earnestly deprecate any change in that position.

That your Petitioners, having regard to all these considerations, humbly pray your (Lordships') Honourable House, that you will not give your sanction to any change in the constitution of the Indian Government during the continuance of the present unhappy disturbances, nor without a full previous inquiry into the operation of the present system. And your Petitioners further pray that this inquiry may extend to every department of Indian administration. Such an inquiry your Petitioners respectfully claim, not only as a matter of justice to themselves, but because, when, for the first time in this century, the thoughts of every public man in the country are fixed on India, an inquiry would be more thorough, and its results would carry much more instruction to the mind of Parliament and of the country, than at any preceding period.

SPEECH BY SIR CHARLES WOOD (SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA) IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, 6th June, 1861.
(Extract.)

I RISE to move for leave to bring in a Bill of the greatest possible importance to our Indian Empire. It modifies to a great extent the Executive Government, and—what is of still greater importance—it alters the means and manner of legislation.

I can assure the House that I never felt more responsibility than in venturing to submit to it a proposal of so important and grave a character. . . . I am quite sure that to those who have ever studied India the inherent difficulties of the question will be no less apparent. We have to legislate for different races, with different languages, religions, manners and customs, ranging from the bigoted Muhammadan, who considers that we have usurped his legitimate position as the ruler of India, to the timid Hindu, who, though bowing to every conqueror, is

bigotedly attached to his caste, his religion, his laws, and his customs, which have descended to him uninterruptedly for countless generations. But, added to that, we have English settlers in India, differing in almost every respect from the native population—active, energetic, enterprising, with all the pride of race and conquest, presuming on their superior powers and looking down in many respects—and I am afraid violating in others—the feelings and prejudices of the native population; with whom, nevertheless, they must be subject to laws passed by the legislative body in India. . . .

The House can hardly be aware of the extraordinary and inherent difficulties in devising a system applicable to the whole of India. It behoves us to be most careful, as a rash step may lead to most dangerous consequences. It is easy to go forward. It is difficult to go back, and I confess I am disposed to err on the side of caution and to profit by the warning of one of the ablest of Indian Officers, MOUNTSTUART ELPHINSTONE, who said, "Legislation for India should be well-considered, gradual, and slow."

The measure which I propose to introduce will effect some changes in the Executive Government of India. . . . There can be no doubt that the Council of the Governor-General has suffered serious inconvenience from the absence of any Member thoroughly acquainted with the laws and principles of jurisprudence: and Lord Canning, in one of his despatches, points out how desirable it is that a gentleman of the legal profession, a jurist rather than a technical lawyer, should be added to the Council. I propose, therefore, to take powers to send out an additional member of Council. Although it is not so specified, it is intended that he should be a lawyer, and I must endeavour to find a man of high character and attainments, competent to assist the Governor-General and his Council in framing laws.

The main change proposed is, however, in the mode in which laws and regulations are enacted. . . . I have framed a measure which embodies the main leading suggestions of Lord Canning. I propose that, when the Governor-

General's Council meets for the purpose of making laws and regulations, the Governor-General should summon, in addition to the ordinary members of the Council, not less than six nor more than twelve additional members, of whom one half at least shall not hold office under Government. The additional members may be either Europeans, persons of European extraction, or natives. . . . I do not propose that the Judges *ex officio* shall have seats in the Legislature, but I do not preclude the Governor-General from summoning one of their number if he chooses. . . . The Council of the Governor-General, with these additional members, will have power to pass laws and regulations affecting the whole of India, and will have a supreme and concurrent power with the minor legislative bodies which I propose to establish in the Presidencies and in other parts of India. . . .

The Indian debt, the customs of the country, the Army of India, and other matters into the details of which it is not necessary that I should enter, belong to a class of subjects which the local legislatures will be prohibited from entering upon without the sanction of the Governor-General. . . . It is quite clear that the public works may be better dealt with by local bodies than by a Central Authority; but as each district might be disposed to repudiate liability to maintain its share of the Army, on the ground that it would not be first exposed to danger, and as it is highly desirable that the distribution of troops should be in the hands of the Central Authority, I think that the Army, among others, is a subject which should be left to the General Council.

The Bill also gives power to the Governor-General in cases of emergency to pass an Ordinance having the force of law for a limited period. . . .

I believe I have now gone through the main provisions of the Bill. They have been carefully considered by the members of the India Council, men drawn from every part of India, of every profession, and with the most varied experience. The measure has been prepared with their entire concurrence, and it has the approval of most of the persons with whom I have conversed on the subject. . . .

THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION

Every one has been consulted whose opinion I thought ought to be taken. . . . I venture therefore to submit it to the House, in the hope that, with such amendments as may be made in it in its progress through Parliament, it may tend to the happiness of India and the prosperity of the Queen's subjects in that portion of Her Majesty's Dominions.

DESPATCH FROM THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA TO
THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA IN COUNCIL
(No. 15, Legislative), dated 30th June, 1892).

Indian Councils Act, 1892.

MY LORD MARQUIS,

I forward herewith . . . the Act recently passed by Parliament to amend the statute under which the meetings of the several Councils in India, assembled for the purpose of making laws and regulations, have been held since 1861.

That statute imported into the legislative constitution of British India, as a recognised principle of public policy, provisions for the admission into all the Councils, when assembled for the purpose of making laws, of additional members, Native and European, a certain proportion of whom must be unconnected officially with the executive Governments, and who would take an independent and responsible share in the legislation of the country. The anticipations upon which this important step was taken in 1861 have, during the past thirty years, been amply fulfilled. There can be no doubt that the Governor-General's Council has been relieved of much business which the local Councils, which were then finally established, have proved themselves thoroughly competent to undertake; while the whole legislative system of India has benefited from the presence in the Councils of the additional members, who have brought much ability, experience, and special knowledge to bear upon the discharge of their duties.

Upon these considerations, and having regard to the progress of administration in recent years, to the material and moral improvement of the country generally, and to

the expediency of strengthening the Councils and extending their functions in some proportion with the growing attention in India to public affairs, Her Majesty's Government, after considering the recommendations of Your Excellency and of Your Excellency's predecessor, have induced Parliament to resolve that the Councils may with advantage be enlarged. It has been determined, moreover, upon the same grounds, to relax in some degree those provisions of the original Act which confine the proceedings of the Councils to the discussion and enactment of Bills introduced at their meetings. Accordingly, in the Act which has just become law certain amendments have been made upon which it is right that I should take this opportunity of recording some observations.

It is provided, in the first place, that the additional members to be summoned by the Governor-General to his Council (and by the Governor of Madras and Bombay to the Councils of those Presidencies) when met for the purpose of making laws and regulations, may be augmented up to a limit fixed in the Act. The Governor-General is also empowered to make a considerable increase of the number of the members who may be summoned for the same purpose by the Lieutenant-Governors of Bengal and of the North-West Provinces. Your Excellency will notice that while these members are to be nominated, as heretofore, by the Governor-General, the Governors, and the Lieutenant-Governors respectively, the Governor-General in Council is now authorised, with the approval of the Secretary of State, to make regulations as to the conditions under which such nominations shall be made, and to prescribe the manner in which the regulations shall be carried into effect.

In the second place, the Governor-General in Council is invested with power to make rules from time to time authorising the discussion of the annual financial statement, and the asking of questions under such conditions as shall be in the said rules prescribed. The Act also contains similar provisions in regard to the Councils of the Governors and Lieutenant-Governors.

I have no doubt that Your Excellency in Council and the several local Governments will lose no time and spare no pains in considering and preparing the rules necessary for carrying into operation these important provisions, which have been introduced with the avowed objects of bringing the Legislatures into closer relation with the best representatives of public opinion in India, and of multiplying the opportunities for an interchange of views and information between the Governments and their Councils. I need hardly add that the ultimate nominating authority still rests with those to whom it was entrusted by the Statute of 1861, or that the responsibility attaching to the careful exercise of this authority by no means diminishes as the number of the non-official members is increased, and as the scope of their attributes is enlarged. It appears to me probable, nevertheless, that the diffusion in the more advanced provinces of education and enlightened public spirit, and the recent organisation of local self-government, may have provided in some instances ways and means of which the Governments may properly avail themselves in determining the character that shall be given to the representation of the views of different races, classes, and localities. Where corporations have been established, and where powers, upon a recognised establishment, have been conferred upon associations, the Government may find it expedient to confer a community of legislative functions upon these bodies. In all territorial, Your Excellency and the local Governments may find convenience and advantage in consulting from time to time such bodies, and in entertaining at your discretion an expression of their views and recommendations with regard to the selection of members in whose qualifications they may be disposed to confide. It is in full reliance upon the benefits to be expected from enlisting the support and co-operation of competent members, and from a more extensive devolution upon the Provincial Councils of the legislative business that particularly concerns the populations with whose needs and circumstances these Councils should be specially conversant, that I recommend this Statute to the very careful attention of Your Excellency's Govern-

ment, and of the other Governments in India whose duty it will be to give effect to its provisions.

I have the honour to be,

My Lord Marquis,

Your Lordship's most obedient, humble Servant,

(Signed) Cross.

DESPATCH FROM THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA TO
THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA IN COUNCIL

(No. 21, Legislative), dated 26th June, 1895.

*Position of Members of the Executive Council of the
Governor-General.*

MY LORD,

I have received and considered in Council Your Excellency's Letter of 2nd of January last, enclosing a report of the proceedings of your Council assembled for the purpose of making Laws and Regulations on the 27th December 1894.

I observe that Your Excellency thought it advisable, on that occasion, to state your view with reference to the position of members of your Executive Council, when acting as a part of the Legislative Council, and of the relations between Your Excellency in Council and the authorities in this country in regard to such measures as may be laid by your Government before the Legislative Council.

As this subject has recently attracted some attention, and as such precedents as exist have not resulted in the establishment of any clear understanding on the question, I desire to record my concurrence in the opinions expressed by Your Excellency, and to take this opportunity of stating the decision at which, after a full consideration of the matter, Her Majesty's Government have arrived.

The Duke of Argyll, as Secretary of State, laid down very clearly, as Your Excellency is no doubt aware, the principles on which members of the Government of India were, in

the opinion of Her Majesty's Government, bound to act. On the 24th November, 1870, he wrote in the following terms to the Earl of Mayo, with reference to a measure which had, by His Grace's instructions, been introduced :—

"It cannot be denied that some theoretical inconveniences are inseparably connected with the working of such a machinery of government as that through which the empire of India is ruled from Home. In practice these inconveniences may be, and have actually been, reduced to a minimum by mutual respect on the part of those who discharge various functions and exercise different powers in a divided and complex system of administration. But the risk of serious embarrassment would become much greater than hitherto it has been found to be, if a clear understanding were not maintained as to one great principle which from the beginning has underlaid the whole system. That principle is, that the final control and direction of the affairs of India rest with the Home Government, and not with the authorities appointed and established by the Crown, under parliamentary enactment, in India itself.

"The Imperial Government cannot indeed insist on all the members of the Governor-General's Council, when assembled for legislative purposes, voting for any measure which may be proposed, because on such occasions some members are present who are not members of the Government, and are not official servants of the Crown. But the Act which added these members to the Council for a particular purpose made no change in the relations which subsist between the Imperial Government and its own executive officers. That Government must hold in its hands the ultimate power of requiring the Governor-General to introduce a measure, and of requiring also all the members of his Government to vote for it.

"I need hardly say that I am speaking on a question of abstract right, not on a question of ordinary procedure. But it is the question of abstract right which I understand to be raised in your reply to my Despatch of 18th March, 1869. As regards ordinary procedure, it is only needful to bear in mind where the seat of ultimate authority is placed

in order to secure on both sides that forbearance and moderation without which no political constitution can be worked with smoothness and success."

Again, on the 31st May, 1876, the Marquess of Salisbury, on a similar occasion, wrote to the Governor-General as follows :—

"It is not open to question that Her Majesty's Government are as much responsible to Parliament for the Government of India as they are for any of the Crown Colonies of the Empire. It may even be said that the responsibility is more definite, in that the powers conferred are, in the case of India, armed with a more emphatic sanction.

"It necessarily follows that the control exercised by Her Majesty's Government over financial policy must be effective also. They cannot, of course, defend in debate measures of which they do not approve; nor can they disavow all concern in them, and throw the responsibility of them upon the distant Government of India.

"Full legal powers having been entrusted to Her Majesty's Government, Parliament would expect that care should be taken that no policy should be pursued which Her Majesty's Government were unable to defend. If the control they possess were to be in any respect less than complete, the power of Parliament over Indian questions would be necessarily annulled. If the Government were at liberty to assume the attitude of bystanders, and to refer the House of Commons for explanations to the Governor-General in Council upon any policy that was assailed, there would practically be no one whom the House could call to account, or through whom effect could be given to its decisions. In scrutinising the control exercised over the Government of India by Her Majesty's Government, and the grounds for maintaining that control, it must be borne in mind that the superintending authority of Parliament is the reason and the measure of the authority exercised by the responsible Ministers of the Crown; and that, if the one power is limited, the other must be limited at the same time."

These were the views entertained from twenty to twenty-

five years ago, and I am not aware that anything has since occurred to modify them. But I wish it to be understood that the observations which I now make refer to members of the Executive Council exclusively.

Your Excellency is aware that in this country each Minister shares a collective responsibility with all other members of the Government for anything of importance that is done in any branch of the public business. The Government is a unit, its views are laid before the Sovereign and before Parliament as the views of one man, and its principal characteristic is united and indivisible responsibility; if a difference of opinion should arise, the Minister or Ministers whose sentiments do not prevail must either accept the responsibility of supporting and promoting measures which individually they do not approve, or tender their resignations. This principle, though not established until comparatively recent times, is now universally recognised as the only basis on which the government of the country can be carried on.

Her Majesty's Government fully recognise the important differences which exist between the position of the Home Government and that of the Government of India. But these differences are not, in their opinion, such as to affect the necessity for unity of action; and they consider that the principle to which I have referred must be held to govern the action of all members of your Executive Council.

It should be understood that this principle, which guides the Imperial Cabinet, applies equally to administrative and to legislative action; if in either case a difference has arisen, members of the Government of India are bound, after recording their opinions, if they think fit to do so, for the information of the Secretary of State in the manner prescribed by the Act, either to act with the Government or to place their resignations in the hands of the Viceroy. It is, moreover, immaterial for the present purpose what may be the nature of the considerations which have determined the Government of India to introduce a particular measure. In any case, the policy adopted is the policy of the Government as a whole, and, as such, must be accepted and pro-

moted by all who decide to remain members of that Government.

I will only add, that it must henceforward be assumed that this necessity for united action on the part of the Government of India is recognised by all who accept or retain office as members of the Executive Council. There can, therefore, be no necessity for special instructions relating to any particular measure, since the principle to which I have referred applies equally to all measures introduced by the Governor-General in Council.

I have the honour to be,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient humble Servant,
(Signed) HENRY H. FOWLER.

DESPATCH FROM THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA
TO THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL IN COUNCIL, No. 193
(PUBLIC), DATED THE 27TH NOVEMBER, 1908.

I have to acknowledge the important Despatch of the 1st October, 1908, in which I find submitted for approval and decision a group of constitutional reforms, framed by Your Excellency in Council in pursuance of a policy initiated more than two years ago. Your proposals, in their present shape, are the outcome of a tentative project placed in August last year in the hands of Local Governments in India, with instructions to consult important bodies and individuals representative of various classes of the community, before putting their own conclusions before the Government of India. Those instructions, as you are very evidently justified in assuring me, were carried out with great care and thoroughness. After examining, moreover, the enormous mass of material gathered together in a prolonged operation, I gladly recognise the admirable industry, patience, thought, and candour with which that material has been sifted by your Government, and worked out into practical proposals, liberal in their spirit and comprehensive in their scope. I have taken all the pains demanded by their importance to secure special considera-

tion of them in Council. It is a sincere satisfaction to me to find myself able to accept the substantial part of Your Excellency's scheme, with such modifications as would naturally occur to different minds, in handling problems of remarkable difficulty in themselves, and reasonably open to wide variety of solution.

The original proposal of an Imperial Advisory Council was based on the interesting and attractive idea of associating Ruling Chiefs and Territorial Magnates of British India, in guardianship of common and Imperial interests, and as a means of promoting more intimate relations among component parts of the Indian Empire. The general opinion of those whose assent and co-operation would be indispensable has proved adverse, and Your Excellency in Council now considers that the project should for the present not be proceeded with.

You still favour an Imperial Council composed only of Ruling Chiefs. Lord Lytton made an experiment in this direction, but it remained without successful result. Lord Curzon afterwards proposed to create a Council composed exclusively of Princes contributing Imperial Service troops, and deliberating on that subject exclusively. Opinion pronounced this also likely to be unfruitful and ineffectual in practice. Your Excellency's project is narrower than the first of these two expedients, and wider than the second. I confess that, while entirely appreciating and sympathising with your object, I judge the practical difficulties in the way of such a Council assembling under satisfactory conditions to be considerable—expense, precedence, housing, for instance, even if there were no others. Yet if not definitely constituted with a view to assembly, it could possess little or no reality. It would obviously be a mistake to push the project, unless it commands the clear assent and approval of those whose presence in the Council would be essential to its success, and the opinions expressed in the replies with which you have furnished me lead me to doubt whether that condition can be secured. But in case Your Excellency still favours this proposal, which is in itself attractive, I do not wish to express dissent at this stage, and if after con-

sultation with the leading Chiefs you are able to devise a scheme that is at once acceptable to them and workable in practice, I am not inclined to place any obstacle in the way of a full and fair trial. And in any event the doubt I have expressed must not be taken as discouraging consultation with individual Chiefs, according to existing practice; for nobody with any part to play in Indian government can doubt the manifold advantages of still further developing not only amicable, but confidential relations of this kind, with the loyal rulers in Indian States, possessed as they are of such peculiar authority and experience.

Next, I agree with Your Excellency in the judgment that the question of a Council of Notables for British India only should not be entertained. I am inclined, furthermore, for my own part, to doubt whether the creation of Provincial Advisory Councils is likely to prove an experiment of any marked actual value. The origin of the demand for bodies of that character, whatever the strength of such a demand amounts to, is undoubtedly the desire for greater facilities in discussion of public measures. Your Excellency indicates what strikes me as pointing in a more hopeful direction, in the proposition that this claim for increased facilities of discussion should be met "rather by extending the powers of the existing Legislative Councils than by setting up large rival Councils which must to some extent conflict with them." Large or small, such rivalry would be almost certain to spring up, and, from the first, the new species of Council would be suspected as designed to be a check upon the old. As in the case of Ruling Chiefs, or of Notables in British India, so here too informal consultation with the leading men of a locality would have most, or all, of the advantages of an Advisory Council, without the many obvious disadvantages of duplicating political machinery.

From these proposals I pass to what is, and what you declare to be, the pith and substance of the despatch under reply. "The enlargement of the Legislative Councils," you say, "and the extension of their functions to the discussion of administrative questions, are the widest, most

deep-reaching, and most substantial features of the scheme which we now put forward." This perfectly correct description evokes and justifies the close scrutiny to which these features have been subjected in my Council, and I am glad to believe that the result reveals few elements of material difference.

Your Government have now felt bound to deal first with the Imperial Legislative Council, and from that to work downwards to the Councils in provinces. I gather, however, from your despatch of the 21st March, 1907, that you would at that time have preferred, as Lord Lansdowne had done in 1892, to build up the higher fabric on the foundation of the provincial Councils. In your circular letter of the 24th August, 1907, you observed that "the most logical and convenient mode of dealing with the question would have been first to discuss and decide the composition, the electorates, and the powers of the provincial Legislative Councils, and then to build up, on the basis of these materials, a revised constitution for the Imperial Council." In the absence of proposals from Local Governments and Administrations, you were precluded from adopting this course; and therefore you contented yourselves before them the lines on which first the Legislative Council of the Governor-General, and then those of Governor and Lieutenant-Governor were constituted.

In your present letter you have followed the same order. But with the full materials before me, such as are now supplied by local opinions, it appears to be both more convenient and, as you said, more logical, to begin with the Provincial Councils, and afterwards to consider the constitution of the Legislative Council of the Governor-General.

The first question that arises touches the principle of representation. . . . Citing previous discussions of the subject, and referring to the precedent of the measures taken to give effect to the Statute of 1892, you adhere to the opinion that in the circumstances of India "representation by classes and interests is the only practicable method

of embodying the elective principle in the constitution of the Indian Legislative Councils." . . . You justly observe that "the principle to be borne in mind is that election by the wishes of the people is the ultimate object to be secured, whatever may be the actual machinery adopted for giving effect to it." . . . You consider that for certain limited interests (the Corporations of Presidency towns, Universities, Chambers of Commerce, Planting Communities, and the like) limited electorates must exist as at present; and you foresee no serious obstacle in carrying out arrangements for that purpose. Difficulties come into view, when you go beyond these limited electorates, and have to deal with large and widespread interests or communities, such as the land-holding and professional classes; or with important minorities, such as Muhammadans in most provinces in India, and Sikhs in the Punjab. You dwell upon the great variety of conditions in the various provinces of the Indian Empire, and the impossibility of applying any uniform system throughout; and your conclusion generally appears to be that class electorates should be framed where this is practicable and likely to lead to good results, and in their failure or defect it will be necessary to have recourse to nomination.

With the general principles advanced by Your Excellency in this chapter of our discussion, I am in entire accord. I agree that, to some extent, class representation must be maintained in the limited electorates to which you refer; and here, as you point out, no serious obstacle is to be anticipated. I agree, also, that the Legislative Councils should reflect the leading elements of the population at large, and that no system of representation would be satisfactory, if it did not provide for the presence in the Councils of sufficient representatives of communities so important as are the Muhammadans and the landed classes. But in examining your plans for obtaining their representation, I am struck with the difficulty of securing satisfactory electoral bodies under them, and with the extent to which, as you expect, nomination will be demanded to supply the deficiencies of election. The same awkwardness and perplexity appear

in obtaining satisfactory representation of the Indian commercial classes, where, as is found generally throughout India with very few exceptions, they have not established Associations or Chambers to represent their interests.

The case of landholders is discussed in your letter, with immediate reference to the Imperial Legislative Council, and the situation is just the same—if separate representation is to be secured—for local Councils. You “find it impossible to make any definite proposal which would admit of general application” . . . ; you see difficulties in devising a constituency that should consist only of landholders deriving a certain income from land, . . . and you point out with much force the objections to election by voluntary associations. In these observations I agree, and especially in your remark that the recognition of associations as electoral agencies should be regarded as a provisional arrangement, to be maintained only until some regular electorate can be formed.

The same difficulties, as you observe . . . encounter the proposal to have a special electorate for Muhammadans. In some provinces, as in Bombay, the Muhammadans are so scattered, that common organisation for electoral purposes is thought impracticable. In other provinces it is proposed to found a separate party on a religious basis, and partly on literary and educational grounds. Again, it is suggested that recourse might be had to voluntary associations. One difficulty in regard to Muhammadans is not mentioned in your letter; for the provision in any province of a special electorate giving them a definite proportion of the seats on the Councils might involve the refusal to them in that province of a right to vote in the territorial electorates of which rural and municipal Boards will afford the basis. If that were not done, they would evidently have a double vote, and this would probably be resented by other classes of the population.

Without rejecting the various expedients suggested by Your Excellency for adoption, in order to secure the adequate representation of these important classes on the Councils, I suggest for your consideration that the object

in view might be better secured, at any rate in the more advanced provinces in India, by a modification of the system of a popular electorate, founded upon the principle of electoral colleges. The use of this method is not in itself novel; it already exists in the groups of District Boards and of municipalities which, in several provinces, return members to the Provincial Councils. The election is not committed to the Boards or Municipalities directly; these bodies choose electors, who then proceed to elect the representative of the group. I will briefly describe the scheme that at present commends itself to me, and in order to make the method of working clear, I will assume hypothetical figures for a given province. Let it be supposed that the total population of the Province is 20 millions, of whom 15 millions are Hindus and 5 millions Muhammadans, and the number of members to be elected twelve. Then, since the Hindus are to Muhammadans as three to one, nine Hindus should be elected to three Muhammadans. In order to obtain these members, divide the Province into three electoral areas, in each of which three Hindus and one Muhammadan are to be returned. Then, in each of these areas, constitute an electoral college, consisting of, let us say, a hundred members. In order to preserve the proportion between the two religions, seventy-five of these should be Hindus and twenty-five Muhammadans. This electoral college should be obtained by calling upon the various electorates, which might be (a) substantial landowners paying not less than a fixed amount of land revenue; (b) the members of rural or sub-divisional Boards; (c) the members of District Boards; and (d) the members of municipal corporations, to return to it such candidates as they desired, a definite number being allotted to each electorate. Out of those offering themselves and obtaining votes, the seventy-five Hindus who obtained the majority of votes should be declared members of the College, and the twenty-five Musalmans who obtained the majority should similarly be declared elected. If the Musalmans returned did not provide twenty-five members for the Electoral College, the deficiency would be made good by

nomination. Having thus obtained an Electoral College containing seventy-five Hindus and twenty-five Musalmans, that body would be called upon to elect three representatives for the Hindus and one for the Muhammadans; each member of the College would have only one vote, and could vote for only one candidate. In this way it is evident that it would be in the power of each section of the population to return a member in the proportion corresponding to its own proportion to the total population.

In the same way the desired proportion could be obtained of representatives of any particular interest, as, for instance, of landowners. All that is necessary would be to constitute the electoral college in such a way that the number of electors representing the land-owning interest should bear to the total number the same proportion as the members of Council representing that interest to be elected bear to the total number to be elected.

In this manner minorities would be protected against exclusion by majorities, and all large and important sections of the population would have the opportunity of returning members in proportion to their ratio to the total population. Their choice could in that event be exercised in the best possible way, that, namely, of popular election, instead of requiring Government to supply deficiencies by the dubious method of nomination.

I do not wish definitely to prescribe such a scheme for adoption whether locally or universally, but I commend it to your consideration. It appears to offer an expedient by which the objections against a system of nomination may be avoided, and it would work through a choice freely exercised by the electorate at large, instead of by artificial electorates specially constituted for the purpose. No doubt it removes the primary voter by more than one stage from the ultimate choice; and it does not profess to be simple. I can only say that it is quite as simple as any other representation of minorities can ever be. The principle of a single vote, which is an essential part of it, is well understood satisfactorily in places where it is already in existence; and it is easy of apprehension by the electors. It would

several great advantages. It would bring the classes specially concerned within the popular electorate, and so meet the criticisms of the Hindus . . . ; second, it establishes a principle that would be an answer to further claims for representation by special classes or associations; third, it would ensure the persons chosen being actually drawn from the locality that the electoral college represents; fourth, it would provide a healthy stimulus to interest in local self-government by linking up local bodies (Rural and Municipal Boards) more closely with the Provincial Legislative Councils. To this end it might be provided that the candidate for election to the Provincial Council must himself have taken part in local administration.

The due representation of the Indian mercantile community . . . might be included in the scheme, if the commercial classes fail to organise themselves, as you suggest that they may arrange to do, in associations similar to the European Chamber of Commerce.

To meet possible objections founded on the difficulty of bringing together electoral colleges to vote in one place, I may add that this is not contemplated in the scheme. You refer . . . to the success of the Calcutta University in organising the election of Fellows by a large number of graduates scattered all over India. The votes of the electors in each college could, I imagine, be collected in the same manner without requiring them to assemble at a common centre.

From the electoral structure, I now turn to the official element in the constitution of Provincial Legislative Councils. . . . I first observe that in all of them you provide for a bare official majority, but you contemplate that in ordinary circumstances only the number of official members necessary for the transaction of business shall be summoned to attend. The first question, therefore, is the necessity of maintaining in these Councils the majority of officials.

We have before us, to begin with, the leading fact that in the important Province of Bombay there is in the Council, as at present composed, no official majority, and that the Bombay Government, even in the smaller of its alternative schemes presented to Your Excellency in Council, is willing

to dispense with such a majority. Considering the character of the legislation ordinarily coming before a Provincial Council, is it not possible, with due representation given to the various classes and interests in the community, to do without a majority of officials? After careful consideration, I have come to the conclusion that in Provincial Councils such a majority may be dispensed with, provided that a substantial official majority is permanently maintained in the Imperial Legislative Council.

I do not conceal from myself the risks in such an arrangement. The non-official majority may press legislation of a character disapproved by the executive Government. This should be met by the exercise of the power to withhold assent, possessed by the head of the Government. Then, although the Local Legislature is vested with power to make laws for the peace and good government of the territories constituting the province, still the range of subjects is considerably narrowed by the statutory exclusions now in force. Thus, for example, the Local Legislature may not, without the previous sanction of the Governor-General, make or take into consideration any law—

affecting the public debt of India, or the customs duties, or any other tax or duty for the time being in force, and imposed by the authority of the Government of India; or affecting the powers of the Government of India; or regulating currency or postal or telegraph business; or altering in any way the Indian Penal Code; or affecting religion or religious rites or usages; or affecting the discipline or maintenance of naval or military forces; or dealing with patents or copyright, or the relations of the Government with foreign princes or States.

It is difficult to see how any measure of such urgency, that delay might work serious mischief, can come before a Provincial Council; for mere opposition to a useful and beneficial project would not come within this description. On the other hand, and perhaps more often, there may be

opposition on the part of the non-official members to legislation that the Government desires. With a Council, however, representing divergent interests, and realising, together with its increased powers, its greater responsibility, a combination of all the non-official members to resist a measure proposed by the Government would be unlikely, and some non-officials at least would probably cast their votes on the side of the Government. If, however, a combination of all the non-official members against the Government were to occur, that might be a very good reason for thinking that the proposed measure was really open to objection, and should not be proceeded with.

Your Excellency will recall, since you came into the authority of Governor-General, an Act proposed by a Local Government which a representative Legislative Council would almost certainly have rejected. Your Excellency's action in withholding assent from the Act shows that, in your judgment, it would have been an advantage if the Local Government had been induced by a hostile vote to reconsider their Bill. If, in spite of such hostile vote the comparatively rare case should arise where immediate legislation were still thought absolutely necessary, then the Constitution as it at present stands provides an adequate remedy. The Governor-General in Council to-day possesses a concurrent power to legislate for any province, and though I strongly favour a policy that would leave to each Local Legislature the duty of providing for its own requirements, still I recognise in this power an ample safeguard, should under exceptional circumstances a real demand for its exercise arise.

This decision will make it necessary to modify to some extent the constitution of the several Provincial Councils proposed by you, and will enable you to secure a wider representation. Subject to consideration of these details (which will not involve the postponement of the proposed parliamentary legislation for the amendment of the Indian Councils Act, 1892, and for other purposes), I am ready to accept generally the proposals for numbers and the constitution of the Councils set forth in your letter.

Your proposals in relation to the Imperial Legislative Council are necessarily entitled to the greatest weight. I am glad to find myself able to accept them practically in their entirety. While I desire to liberalise as far as possible the Provincial Councils, I recognise that it is an essential condition of this policy that the Imperial supremacy shall be in no degree compromised. I must therefore regard it as essential that Your Excellency's Council in its legislative, as well as its executive, character should continue to be so constituted, as to ensure its constant and uninterrupted power to fulfil the constitutional obligations that it owes, and must always owe, to His Majesty's Government and to the Imperial Parliament. I see formidable drawbacks, that have certainly not escaped Your Excellency, to the expedient which you propose, and I cannot regard with favour the power of calling into play an official majority, while seeming to dispense with it. I am unable to persuade myself that to import a number of gentlemen, to vote down something upon which they may or may not have heard the arguments, will prove satisfactory. To secure the required relations I am convinced that a permanent official majority in the Imperial Legislative Council is absolutely necessary, and this must outweigh the grave disadvantages that attach to its dispositive vote in the Provincial Legislatures. It must not be a mere nominal majority, and this Your Excellency does not seem to regard as must be substantial, as it is certainly desirable that the Governor-General should be removed from the conflict of the division list, and that the fate of any measure or resolution should not rest on his vote alone.

I have already dealt in the earlier paragraphs of this Despatch with the elective principle, and it will be for Your Excellency to consider how far the popular electorate can be utilised for the return to your Legislative Council of landholders and Muhammadans. Some modification of the scheme suggested for the Provinces will, no doubt, be necessary, and the electoral colleges would probably have to be on the basis of Province and not of Division, and the case of the Central Provinces would probably (in view of

the disappearance of Advisory Councils) have to be met by nomination until a Local Legislature is provided.

I accept your proposals for securing the representation of Commerce both European and Indian. I also agree to your proposals as to nomination, but it will be a matter for your consideration whether, to meet the requirement of a substantial official majority, the number of nominated officials should not be raised. Your plan for securing occasional representation for the interest of minorities such as the Sikhs, the Parsis, the Indian Christians, the Buddhists, and the domiciled community, meets with my entire approval, and I am in complete sympathy with your intention sometimes to appoint one or two experts in connection with legislation pending before Council.

I turn to the proposals . . . affording further facilities for debate. This subject, as Your Excellency remarks, was not dealt with in the earlier correspondence out of which your present proposals arise; but I am entirely in accord with Your Excellency's Government in regarding it as of cardinal importance.

The existing law, which confines discussion, except on the occasion of the annual financial statement, to legislative proposals actually before the Council, imposes a restriction that I am convinced is no longer either desirable or necessary. The plan of Your Excellency's Government contemplates a wide relaxation of this restriction, and, in sanctioning it generally, I am confident that these increased facilities judiciously used will be pronounced of the greatest advantage, not only by Councils and those whom they represent, but also by Government, who will gain additional opportunities both of becoming acquainted with the drift of public opinion, and of explaining their own actions.

Taking the proposals in detail, I agree that resolutions to be moved should take the form of recommendations to Government, having only such force and effect as Government after consideration shall deem due to them. The introduction and discussion of resolutions should not extend to subjects removed from the cognisance of the Legislative Councils by Statute, and must obviously be

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subject to rules and restrictions. These, as Your Excellency observes, may best be laid down in the first place when the rules of business are drawn up, and developed thereafter as experience may show to be desirable. Meanwhile, I agree generally with the conditions suggested in your Despatch. I must, however, remark upon the first of the suggested conditions, that isolated incidents of administration, or personal questions, may be, and often are, at the same time matters of public and general importance. It would in my opinion be sufficient to lay down that resolutions must relate to matters of public and general importance, inasmuch as the President of the Council will have the power of deciding finally whether any proposed resolution does or does not satisfy this condition.

In respect of rules on the asking of questions, I have come to the conclusion that, subject to such restrictions as may be found requisite in practice, and to the existing general powers of the President, the asking of supplementary questions should be allowed. Without these, a system of formal questions met by formal replies must inevitably tend to become unreal and ineffective, and, in an assembly in which, under proper safeguards, free discussion and debate is permitted and encouraged, there can be no sufficient reason for prohibiting that method of eliciting information and expressing indirectly the opinions and wishes of the questioners.

Special importance attaches to rules as to the discussion of the Imperial Budget, and I recognise with much satisfaction the liberality of the proposals that you have placed before me. The changes under this head constitute a notable step, in the direction of giving to the representatives of Indian opinion a part in the most important administrative operation of the political year. I approve the dates suggested for the promulgation of the financial statement, and for the beginning and ending of its discussion in Committee; and I anticipate valuable results from the knowledge which your Government will acquire, in these debates, of the views of those whom the proposed measures will chiefly and directly affect; and which it will be able to

utilise in shaping its final financial proposals for the year. Generally, also, I approve the rules . . . for the regulation of discussions in Committee, and of the moving of resolutions; and I concur in your opinion that the form of procedure should be such as to show clearly that the power of executive action resides exclusively in Government, who, while inviting the free expression of opinion in the form of resolutions, do not thereby forego any part of the power and responsibility which has been, and must continue to be, in their hands.

Your proposals for the discussion of the Provincial Budgets seem entirely sound. As in the case of the Imperial Budget, so with respect to the Provincial finances, I observe with satisfaction that provision is made for full and free discussion, and for the consideration by Government of the results of such discussion before the final proposals for the year are framed; and I believe that, under the system suggested by you, the Local Governments will retain that ultimate control over the financial policy of their Provinces, without which not only the authority of the Government of India, but also that of the Secretary of State in Council and of Parliament, would inevitably disappear.

Your Excellency claims for your scheme as a whole, "that it will really and effectively associate the people of India in the work, not only of occasional legislation, but of actual everyday administration." The claim is abundantly justified; yet the scheme is not, and hardly pretends to be, a complete representation of the entire body of changes and improvements in the existing system, that are evidently present to the minds of some of those whom your Government has consulted, and that, to the best of my judgment, are now demanded by the situation described in the opening words of the Despatch. It is evidently desirable, Your Excellency will agree, to present our reformed constitutional system as a whole. From this point of view, it seems necessary to attempt without delay an effectual advance in the direction of local self-government. The principles that should inspire and regulate measures with this aim, can hardly be laid down in sounder or clearer

terms than in the Resolution published by the Government of India on the 18th May, 1882. I do not know where to look for a better expression of the views that should govern our policy under this important head, and I will venture to quote some passages in this memorable deliverance. Explaining the proposal for local self-government of that date, the Government of India place themselves on ground which may well be our ground also. "It is not primarily," they say, "with a view to improvement in administration that this measure is put forward and supported. It is chiefly desirable as an instrument of political and popular education." And again, "there appears to be great force in the argument that, so long as the chief executive officers are, as a matter of course, Chairmen of the Municipal and District Committees, there is little chance of these committees affording any effective training to their members in the management of local affairs, or of the non-official members taking any real interest in local business. The non-official members must be led to feel that real power is placed in their hands, and that they have real responsibilities to discharge." This anticipation has been to some extent warranted by experience. Funds have not existed for an efficient executive staff. The official element within the local bodies has been in many places predominant. Non-official members have not been induced, to such an extent as was hoped, to take real interest in local business, because their powers and their responsibilities were not real. If local self-government has so far been no marked success as a training ground, it is mainly for the reason that the constitution of the local bodies departed from what was affirmed in the Resolution to be "the true principle," that "the control should be exercised from without rather than from within, the Government should revise and check the acts of local bodies, but not dictate them." I make no doubt that the Government of India to-day will affirm, and actively shape their policy upon, the principle authoritatively set forth by their predecessors in 1882 :—

"It would be hopeless to expect any real develop-

ment of self-government if the local bodies were subject to check and interference in matters of detail; and the respective powers of Government and of the various local bodies should be clearly and distinctly defined by statute, so that there may be as little risk of friction and misunderstanding as possible. Within the limits to be laid down in each case, however, the Governor-General in Council is anxious that the fullest possible liberty of action should be given to local bodies."

Your Excellency will recall that the Resolution from which I have quoted, treats the Sub-division, Taluqa, or the Tahsil, as the smallest administrative unit. It is a question whether it would not be wise policy to go further. The village in India (generally) has been the fundamental and indestructible unit of the social system, surviving the downfall of dynasty after dynasty. I desire Your Excellency in Council to consider the best way of carrying out a policy that would make the village a starting point of public life.

The encouragement of local self-government being an object of this high importance in the better organisation of our Indian system, it remains to be considered how far in each province it would be desirable to create a department for dealing exclusively with these local bodies, guiding and instructing them, and correcting abuses, in a form analogous to the operations of the Local Government Board in this country. That, however, is a detail, though a weighty one, in a question on which, as a whole, I confidently expect that Your Excellency will find much light in the forthcoming report of the Royal Commission on Decentralisation.

In the closing page of your letter, Your Excellency raises a question of a high order of importance. You recognise, as you inform me, that "the effect of our proposals will be to throw a greater burden on the heads of local governments, not only by reason of the actual increase of work caused by the long sittings of the Legislative Councils, but also because there will be considerable responsibility in dealing with the recommendations of those Councils."

You then suggest the possibility that experience may show it to be desirable to strengthen the hands of the Lieutenant-Governors in the large provinces by the creation of Executive Councils, and of assisting the Governors of Madras and Bombay by enlarging the Executive Councils that now exist in these Presidencies.

I have to observe, with respect to Bombay and Madras, that the original scheme under the Act of 1833 provided for the appointment of three members to each of the Executive Councils in those Presidencies. It seems conformable to the policy of this Despatch to take power to raise to four the number of members of each of these Executive Councils, of whom one at least should be an Indian. I would not, however, propose to make this a provision of a statute, but would leave it to practice and usage growing into confirmed rule.

As to the creation of Executive Councils in the larger provinces, I am much impressed by both of the considerations that weigh with Your Excellency in throwing out the suggestion, and more especially by the second of them. All will depend, for the wise and efficient despatch of public business, upon right relations between the supreme head of executive power in the province and the Legislative Council. The question is whether these relations will be the more likely to adjust themselves satisfactorily if the judgment of the Lieutenant-Governor is fortified and enlarged by two or more competent advisers, with an official and responsible share in his deliberations. Your Excellency anticipates longer sittings of the Legislative Council, with increased activity of discussion, and the effectual representation of provincial opinion and feeling, as a guide to executive authority, is the central object of the policy of Your Excellency's despatch. The aim of that policy is two-fold; at once to enable Government the better to realise the wants, interests, and sentiment of the governed, and, on the other hand, to give the governed a better chance of understanding, as occasion arises, the case for the Government, against the misrepresentations of ignorance and malice. That double object, as Your Excellency

fully appreciates, is the foundation of the whole system in India, and all over the world, of administration and legislation either through, or subject to the criticism of, deliberative bodies whether great or small.

The suggestion for the establishment of Executive Councils for Lieutenant-Governors, as Your Excellency is aware, is not new. A really new problem or new solution is, in truth, surprisingly uncommon in the history of British rule in India, and of the political or administrative controversies connected with it. Indeed, without for an instant undervaluing the supreme necessity for caution and circumspection at every step and motion in Indian Government, it may be open to some question whether in some of these controversies before now, even an erroneous conclusion would not have been better than no conclusion at all. The issue we are now considering was much discussed in obedience to the orders of the Secretary of State in 1868, by men of the highest authority on Indian questions, and I do not conceive that after all the consideration given to the subject then and since, further consultations could be expected to bring any new arguments of weight and substance into view.

It has sometimes been argued that the creation of Executive Councils in the major provinces would necessarily carry with it, as in Bombay and Madras, the appointment in each case of a Governor from home. This would indeed be a "large departure from the present system of administration," almost amounting to the confusion and overthrow of that system, reposing as it does upon the presence at the head of the highest administrative posts, of officers trained and experienced in the complex requirements and diversified duties of Indian government. I take for granted, therefore, that the head of the Province will be, as now, a member of the Indian Civil Service appointed in such mode as the law prescribes.

I propose, therefore, to ask for power to create Executive Councils from time to time as may be found expedient. In this connection we cannot ignore the necessity of securing that a constitutional change, designed both to strengthen

the authority and to lighten the labours of the head of the Province, shall not impair the prompt exercise of executive power. It will, therefore, be necessary to consider most carefully what degree of authority over the members of his Council in case of dissent, should be vested in the head of a Province in which an Executive Council may be called into being. It was recognised by Parliament more than a century ago that the Governors of Madras and Bombay should be vested with a discretionary power of overruling these Councils "in cases of high importance, and essentially affecting the public interest and welfare." A power no less than this will obviously be required in the provinces in which a Council may come to be associated with the head of the executive, and I shall be glad if you will favour me with your views upon its definition. Your Excellency will readily understand that the use of such a power, while not to be evaded in the special cases for which it is designed, is not intended for part of the ordinary mechanism of Government. Rather, in the language of the historical despatch of 1834, it is my belief that, "in a punctual, constant, and even fastidious adherence to your ordinary rules of practice, you will find the best security, not only for the efficiency, but also for the dispatch of your legislative proceedings."

I have the honour to be,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient, humble Servant,

(Signed) MORLEY OF BLACKBURN.

A SIDELIGHT ON CONSTITUTIONAL REFORMS IN INDIA (1909)

Report of a dialogue between a District Officer and an Indian gentleman resident in the District.

"SALAAM, Raja Sahib. I am glad you have come to see me to-day, as I want to ask your opinion about this new scheme that the Government is proposing."

"What new scheme, Sahib? Is a new law being made for the Punjab? I think we have enough laws."

"Well, not exactly, but I suppose you don't see the newspapers?"

"*Tobab* (Heaven forbid!) Sahib. Why should I?"

"Well, the matter is this. The Lord Sahib thinks that the people should be consulted more before the laws are made, and he proposes to give them a chance of giving their opinions, but before I ask you your opinion on the scheme, I should like to know whether you think the present system seems to want improvement."

"I don't quite understand, Sahib. The Sarkar is well-meaning."

"Yes, but I mean do you understand who makes the laws by which you are governed now?"

"The Sarkar makes the laws."

"But what is the Sarkar? You have heard of the Legislative Councils at Simla and Lahore."

"Oh, of course."

"Do you know who the members of these councils are?"

"Not exactly. There are some native members who sit with the Sahibs and say '*han*,' '*han*' ('Yes, yes')."

"Well, perhaps I had better try to explain the Viceroy's scheme to you, and then we will discuss it."

"The system of Government at present is this. There is the Emperor in England, with two parties who are elected by the people. Sometimes one party is larger, and sometimes the other. The larger party has a representative who advises the King, and he is called the Secretary of State for India."

"Oh yes, Sahib, I have heard of him. He is Sir John Morley."

"More or less. Then he has a Council. Then in India there is the Viceroy, with an Executive Council which is the Government of India, and that is the real Sarkar. But for the purpose of making laws the Viceroy has a larger Council, called the Legislative Council, and, as you say, there are some native members in that. In the same way, in the provinces there are Governors or Lieutenant-Governors, and they have little Legislative Councils to

help them to make laws. Now the Viceroy first of all proposes to make some more councils to help him to know what the people think. He suggests having a big assembly, which is to be called the Imperial Advisory Council, and to consist of sixty members, twenty of whom are to be ruling Chiefs, and the rest big zamindars. This council is only to give advice when asked for it, and not to have any power. Now, Raja Sahib, what do you think of that idea?"

"Let me think, Sahib. I am rather confused with all these 'Councils.' You say the Lord Sahib wants another 'Council' made up of Rajas and zamindars. First, who would the Rajas be? There is Patiala in the Punjab, and he is a boy, and Bahawalpur is dead, and Kashmir. Well! Oh, but there are others, and the zamindars would be far more important people. The zamindars, how would they be selected?"

"That's the question. How would you select them?"

"Sahib, if you ask the truth, I would say do not mention the name of councils. What good will they do to the people? The Sarkar is well-meaning, as I said, but it will do what it thinks right if there were fifty councils."

"That's just it, Raja Sahib. And you may be very sure that it will be the same. The Sarkar may think about the matter, but it will not do this or that, and the Sarkar will not do this or that. Sensible men will understand that it is useless to condemn it wholesale. What we have to do is to examine it and see if we can suggest weak points. One suggestion is that all land-holders who pay more than Rs. 10,000 per annum land revenue should vote for members for the Advisory Councils. What do you think of that?"

"It is no good, Sahib. I say again, do not mention the name of councils."

"Well, you old Tory, suppose I explain my own views; you will at least tell me whether you think there is anything in them."

"Certainly."

"I think myself that the present system is a very good

one. But it is quite true that the Sarkar sometimes makes mistakes in legislating for the people, because the people who finally make the laws do not live with the people who are affected by them. The Viceroy never makes a new law without asking the advice of the Lieutenant-Governor, and the Lieutenant-Governor does not express his opinion till he has asked for the views of Commissioners, who again consult district officers. Now you know that we always consult our visitors about any change that is proposed, but just as you say the native members of the Legislative Councils simply sit and say 'ban,' 'ban,' so you must admit most of our visitors do. I think the time to consult the people is when the proposal is being reported on by the district officer, and that if he had a little council composed of selected native gentlemen of the——."

"No, Sahib, consult us by all means, but do it secretly. It is not right to put people in opposition to Government. I will tell you the truth. The Sarkar is well-meaning, as I have said, but it has made two fatal mistakes. First, it has given education to people unfitted for it; second, it has put the tenants above the landlords. Now it wishes to put the *kamins* (Councils) above itself. The Sarkar should never be a defendant. I will tell you a story, Sahib. When I was Tahsildar at Muzaffargarh about thirty years ago, there was an outbreak of cholera. There was a pond near the kutchery, and the Deputy-Commissioner ordered me to have it drained, which I proceeded to do. When all the water was drained away the fishes were left, so I auctioned them for Rs. 8 and put the money in revenue deposit. The fishing rights had been leased by the villagers to a man for Rs. 20, and the lessee sued the villagers for that amount. Abdul Aziz was the Munsif, and he said that the tank was drained by the Deputy-Commissioner's order, and that the lessee should have the value of the fish in deposit, and dismissed the suit. The lessee appealed, and the District Judge, who was a young Sahib, made the Deputy-Commissioner co-defendant! The Deputy-Commissioner was Gladstone Sahib! Of course, this could

not be, so I arranged a compromise, but the whole scheme of Government would collapse if the Deputy-Commissioner could be made a co-defendant."

"I quite agree with you, but, as I said before, this council scheme is going to come whatever we may think, and I am trying to explain what I think might be done. If we had these little district councils that I suggest, they would be asked to give their opinion on any proposed measure, and the Deputy-Commissioner would report what local opinion was. But there are some men in nearly every district who are too big and influential to be members of the local council. I think that from them a Provincial Advisory Council might be selected to advise the Lieutenant-Governor. You know there are two sorts of legislation—that which affects the Sarkar and that which only affects the people. For example, the Land Alienation Act or Co-operative Credit Societies Act. I think that such measures should be sent to the Advisory Council I have suggested, and if a majority of that council disapproved of the measure, it should not be put before the Legislative Council of the province until local opinion had again been called for."

"But how would you select the members of the Provincial Advisory Council?"

"Certainly not by election, nor must they be chosen from local councillors. I think the Lieutenant-Governor should select men of every creed and class from among influential men of the province, but not from among ruling Chiefs."

"No, Sahib, the Lieutenant-Governor should no doubt consult influential men of the province, as you would in the district, but he should do it privately."

"But the Viceroy says that the sovereigns in India, however absolute, have always sought the advice of councillors."

"Yes, Sahib, but the councillors were appointed by them and dismissed by them when they gave advice that was not acceptable. *The Sarkar seems to be seeking to set up an opposition, so that it may argue with it.* What good? The councils would know that they had no power, and

would not give advice opposed to the suggestions of Government."

"Very well, then, Raja Sahib. I understand that you are opposed altogether to the proposed Advisory Councils, and would not have them in any shape or form."

"Yes, Sahib. The name of council should not be mentioned."

"Then what about the Legislative Councils? The Viceroy proposed to increase his to fifty-three members."

"And they would be empowered to make laws?"

"Yes, but, as there cannot be two Kings in one country, the Sarkari members would be in the majority."

"Then there would only be more *bakh* (talk), and the same result. The Sarkar would make the laws that seem right to them."

"And the Provincial Councils?"

"It is the same thing."

"I must admit, Raja Sahib, that you have not said '*han*,' '*han*' to me this morning. Now, is there anything that I can do for you?"

"There is one request, Sahib. In the matter of the Sub-Registrarship, etc., etc."

DESPATCH FROM THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (THE MARQUESS OF CREWE), TO THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL IN COUNCIL, DATED 1ST NOVEMBER, 1911.*

MY LORD,

I have received Your Excellency's despatch, dated the 25th August last and issued in the Home Department, and I have considered it in Council with the attention due to the importance of its subject.

In the first place you propose to transfer from Calcutta to Delhi the seat of the Government of India, a momentous change which in your opinion can be advocated on its intrinsic merits, and apart from the considerations which are discussed in the later passages of your despatch. You

* Presented to both Houses of Parliament "by command," Cd. 5979.

point out with truth that many of the circumstances which explain the selection of Fort William in the second half of the eighteenth century as the headquarters of the East India Company cannot now be adduced as arguments for the permanent retention of Calcutta as the capital of British India; while certain new conditions and developments seem to point positively towards the removal of the Central Government to another position. Such a suggestion is not entirely novel, since it has often been asked whether the inconvenience and cost of an annual migration to the Hills could not be avoided by founding a new official capital at some place in which Europeans could reside healthfully and work efficiently throughout the whole year. You regard any such solution as impracticable, in my judgment rightly; and you proceed to describe in favourable terms the purely material claims of Delhi for approval as the new centre of Government. There would be undoubted advantage both in a longer sojourn at the capital than is at present advisable, and in the shorter journey to and from Simla when the yearly transfer has to be made; while weight may properly be attached to the central situation of Delhi and to its fortunate position as a great railway junction. As you point out, these facts of themselves cannot not a few administrative advantages. I am not disposed to attach sufficient importance to the removal of the Department of Commerce and Industry from a busy centre like Calcutta; for any official disadvantage due to this cause should be counterbalanced by the gain of a wider outlook upon the commercial activities of India as a whole.

From the historical standpoint, to which you justly draw attention, impressive reasons in support of the transfer cannot less easily be advanced. Not only do the ancient walls of Delhi enshrine an Imperial tradition comparable with that of Constantinople, or with that of Rome itself, but the near neighbourhood of the existing City formed the theatre for some most notable scenes in the old-time drama of Hindu history, celebrated in the vast treasure-house of national epic verse. To the races of

India, for whom the legends and records of the past are charged with so intense a meaning, this resumption by the Paramount Power of the seat of venerable Empire should at once enforce the continuity and promise the permanency of British sovereign rule over the length and breadth of the country. Historical reasons will thus prove to be political reasons of deep importance and of real value in favour of the proposed change. I share, too, your belief that the Ruling Chiefs as a body will favour the policy and give to it their hearty adhesion.

But, however solid may be the material advantages which you enumerate, and however warm the anticipated response from Indian sentiment, it may be questioned whether we should venture to contemplate so abrupt a departure from the traditions of British government, and so complete a dislocation of settled official habits, if we were able to regard with absolute satisfaction the position as it exists at Calcutta.

Your Excellency is not unaware that for some time past I have appreciated the special difficulties arising from the collocation of the Government of India and the Government of Bengal in the same headquarters. The arrangement, as you frankly describe it, is a bad one for both Governments, and the Viceroy for the time being is inevitably faced by this dilemma, that either he must become Governor-in-Chief of Bengal in a unique sense, or he must consent to be saddled by public opinion both in India and at home with direct liability for acts of administration or policy over which he only exercises in fact the general control of a Supreme Government. The Local Government, on the other hand, necessarily suffers from losing some part of the sense of responsibility rightly attaching to it as to other similar administrations. It involves no imputation either upon Your Excellency's Government, or upon the distinguished public servants who have carried on the Government of Bengal, to pronounce the system radically an unsound one.

It might, indeed, have been thought possible to correct this anomaly with less disturbance of present conditions,

by retaining Calcutta as the central seat of Government, under the immediate control of the Viceroy, and transferring the Government of Bengal elsewhere. But two considerations appear to forbid the adoption of such a course. In the first place it is doubtful whether the arbitrary creation of an artificial boundary could in practice cause Calcutta, so long the capital of Western Bengal, to cease altogether to be a Bengali city in the fullest sense. Again, the experiment of turning the second city of the British Empire into an Imperial *enclave* would be certain to cast a new and altogether undue burden upon the shoulders of the Governor-General, however freely the actual work of administration might be delegated to subordinate officials. It is true that Washington, during the century since it became the capital of the United States, has grown into a large and wealthy city, with industries on a considerable scale; but even now it possesses less than a third of the population of Calcutta; while Ottawa and the new Australian foundation of Yass-Canberra are likely to continue mainly as political capitals. Such a solution may therefore be dismissed, while no parallel difficulties need be dreaded if Delhi and its surroundings are placed directly under the Government of India.

I am glad to observe that you have not underrated the objections to the transfer which are likely to be entertained in some quarters. The compensation which will be offered to Bengali sentiment by other of your interdependent proposals is in my opinion fully adequate, and I do not think it necessary to dwell further on this aspect of the change. But it cannot be supposed that the European community of Calcutta, particularly the commercial section, can regard it without some feelings of chagrin and disappointment in their capacity as citizens. But you may rely, I am certain, upon their wider patriotism, and upon their willingness to subordinate local and personal considerations to those which concern the general good of India. Nor, on full reflection, need they fear any seriously untoward consequences. The city will remain the seat of a most prominent and influential Government. I see no reason why it should

suffer in material prosperity, retaining as it will not merely an almost universal commerce, but the practical monopoly in more than one branch of trade. And from the standpoint of sentiment, nothing can ever deprive Calcutta of her association with a century and a half of British government, signalised by many great events, and adorned by the famous roll of those who have preceded Your Excellency in the office of Governor-General. Such a history is a perpetual possession, and it will guide the steps of all travellers to Calcutta not less certainly than has the presence of the Supreme Government in the past.

In view of this change it is your desire that a Governorship in Council should be constituted for Bengal. You remind me that the possibility of such a creation was fully discussed in the years 1867 and 1868, although divergent opinions were expressed by the different authorities of that day, and no steps were in fact taken. One of the principal objections felt then, as now, to the proposition taken by itself, hinged on the difficulty of planting such an administration in Calcutta side by side with that of the Government of India. The criticism is valid, but it would be silenced by the transfer of the capital to Delhi. I note with general agreement your observations upon the probable appointment in ordinary circumstances of a statesman or administrator from the United Kingdom to the Governorship of Bengal, while concurring that the appointment, like other great Governorships, would be open to members of the Indian Civil Service whenever it might be desirable to seek for an occupant among their ranks. I also share your conviction that no lower grade of administration would be held in the altered conditions to satisfy the reasonable aspirations either of Hindus or of Muhammadans for the reputation and status of Bengal among the great divisions of India.

In considering the area which the Governor of a new Bengal should be called upon to administer, it is not necessary to recall at length the steps which led up to the partition of the former Presidency, or to engage in detailed examination of its results. It is universally admitted that

up to the year 1905 the task which the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal and his subordinates had to perform, having regard to the extent of the Presidency, to its population, and the difficulties of communication in many districts, was one with which no energy or capacity could completely cope. It is equally certain that the provincial centre of gravity was unduly diverted to the western portion of the area, and to Calcutta itself; with the result that the Muhammadan community of Eastern Bengal were unintentionally deprived of an adequate share of consideration and attention. Such a state of affairs was not likely to agitate public opinion on this side of the water; the name of Dacca, once so familiar to British ears, had become almost unknown to them. A rearrangement of administration at the instance of the Government of India was therefore almost imperative; but the plan that was ultimately adopted, while effecting some beneficial changes in Eastern Bengal, and offering relief to the overladen Government, produced consequences in relation to the Bengali population which you depict with accuracy and fairness. History teaches us that it has sometimes been found necessary to ignore local sentiment, or to override racial prejudice, in the interest of sound administration, or in order to establish an ethical or political principle. But even where indisputable justification can be claimed, such an exercise of authority is almost always regrettable in itself; and it will often be wise to grasp an opportunity of assuaging the resentment which has been aroused, where this can be done without practical detriment to order and good government. You point out, moreover, that in this case the grievance is not only one of sentiment, but that in connection with the Legislative Councils the Bengali population is subjected to practical disabilities which demand and merit some redress. In Your Excellency's opinion the desired objects can properly be achieved by re-uniting the five Bengali-speaking divisions, of the Presidency, Burdwan, Dacca, Rajshahi, and Chittagong, into the new Presidency to be for the future administered by the Governor of Bengal in Council.

At the same time you lay deserved stress on the importance of giving no ground for apprehension to the Muhammadans of Eastern Bengal lest their interests should be injuriously affected by the intended alteration. In common with others of their faith, they would presumably regard with satisfaction the re-erection of Delhi as the capital of India; but they would be primarily concerned with the local aspect of the proposals. It is evident that in delimiting the new Presidency care is needed to see that the balance of the different populations, though it could not remain throughout the entire area as it stands at present in Eastern Bengal and Assam, is not unduly disturbed; and, as you point out, the special representation on the Legislative Councils which is enjoyed by the Muhammadans supplies them with a distinct safeguard in this respect. I attach, however, no little importance to the proposal that the Governor of Bengal should regard Dacca as his second capital, with full claims on his regular attention, and his residence for an appreciable part of the year. The arrangements which have been made there for the administration of the existing Lieutenant-Governor will thus not merely be utilised, but will serve a valuable purpose which it would have been difficult to secure had proposals similar to those which you now make been put forward when the old Bengal was undivided. In these circumstances I consider that you are right not to make any suggestion for a Commissionership at Dacca analogous to that existing in Sind in the Presidency of Bombay.

Your next proposition involves the creation of a Lieutenant-Governorship in Council for Behar, Chota Nagpur, and Orissa. I observe that you have considered and dismissed a number of alternative suggestions for dealing with these three important and interesting Divisions. Some of these schemes, as Your Excellency is aware, have at different times been the subjects of discussion when a re-arrangement of boundaries has been contemplated; and I refrain from commenting on any of them at this moment, holding, as I do, that you have offered the plainest and

most reasonable solution, if any substantial change is to be made at all. The three sub-provinces above named, while differing *inter se* in some marked features, are alike loosely connected with Bengal proper, and their complete administrative severance would involve no hardship to the Presidency. You describe the desire of the hardy and law-abiding inhabitants of Behar for a clearer expression of their local individuality, differing from the Bengalis as they largely do in origin, in language, in proclivities, and in the nature of the soil they cultivate. Orissa, again, with its variety of races and physical conditions, with its considerable seaboard, invested with a peculiar sanctity of religious tradition, prefers a code of land legislation founded on a system of tenure differing in the main from those both of Bengal and of the Central Provinces, and has long felt uneasiness at a possible loss of identity as a distinct community. The highlands of Chota Nagpur, far less densely populated than Bengal, and containing a large aboriginal element, also possess ancestral and historical claims for separate treatment in various respects. These three sub-provinces, with their combined population of some thirty-five millions, would form a charge well within the compass of a Lieutenant-Governorship; and it may be assumed that the controlling officer would be able to bestow continuous care and attention upon each of the divisions within his area.

The concluding suggestion which you put forward is that the Chief Commissionership of Assam should be revived. I attach weight to your argument that the political conditions on the north-eastern frontier of India render it desirable that like the North-west it should be the immediate concern of Your Excellency's Government, rather than of a local administration; and I note your belief, which I trust may prove to be well-founded, that the inhabitants of this Province, of first-rate importance in industry and commerce, are not likely to offer any opposition to the change. On the contrary, they may be disposed to welcome it, since I am confident that the Supreme Government would assiduously preserve all local

interests, either material or of sentiment, from any possible detriment attributable to the altered system.

I make no complaint of the fact that Your Excellency is unable at this stage to present for sanction a close estimate of the cost which is likely to be incurred in respect of the various proposals included in your Despatch, either by way of initial or of recurring expenditure. You have only found it possible to name the round sum of four millions sterling, which you regard as the outside figure of cost which could be incurred by the transfer to Delhi, and you indicate your opinion that this amount might be raised by a special Gold Loan. I agree that it was not possible for you, in the special circumstances of the case, to undertake the investigations which would have been necessary before you could submit even a general estimate of expenditure either at Delhi or in relation to the Governorship of Bengal, to the Lieutenant-Governorship of the new United Provinces, or to the Chief Commissionership of Assam. This being so, I refrain for the present from making any observations on this part of the subject, merely stating my general conviction that Your Excellency is fully alive to the magnitude of the proposed operations, and to the necessity for thoughtful preparation and continuous vigilance in order that the expenditure, which must necessarily be so large, may be conducted with no tinge of wastefulness; and as regards the particular case of Delhi, assuring you that my full sympathy will be extended to any efforts you may make to prevent holding-up against Government of land which you may find it necessary to secure for public purposes.

I find myself in general agreement with Your Excellency when you state that if this policy is to be approved, it is imperative to avoid delay in carrying it into effect. You give substantial reasons for this opinion, both on administrative and economical grounds, and though a number of details remain for settlement, many of which must demand careful examination and consultation, while some may awaken differences of opinion, it is possible now to pronounce a definite opinion upon the broad features of

the scheme. Regarding it as a whole, and appreciating the balance sought to be maintained between the different races, classes, and interests likely to be affected, I cannot recall in history, nor can I picture in any portion of the civilised world as it now exists, a series of administrative changes of so wide a scope culminating in the transfer of the main seat of Government, carried out, as I believe the future will prove, with so little detriment to any class of the community, while satisfying the historic sense of millions, aiding the general work of Government, and removing the deeply-felt grievance of many. I therefore give my general sanction to your proposals, and I share in your belief that the transfer of the Capital, and the concomitant features of the scheme form a subject worthy of announcement by the King-Emperor in person on the unique and eagerly-anticipated occasion at Delhi. I am commanded to inform you that at the Durbar on the 12th of December His Imperial Majesty will be pleased to declare that Delhi will become the capital city of India, that a Governor in Council will be appointed for Bengal, a Lieutenant-Governor in Council for Behar, Chota Nagpur, and Orissa, and a Chief Commissioner for the Province of Assam.

I have the honour to be,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient humble servant,

[Signed] CREWE.

The announcement was duly made by H.M. the King-Emperor at the CORONATION DURBAR held at Delhi, 12th December, 1911, in the following terms :—

We are pleased to announce to Our People that on the advice of Our Ministers tendered after consultation with Our Governor-General in Council We have decided upon the transfer of the seat of the Government of India from Calcutta to the ancient Capital Delhi, and, simultaneously and as a consequence of that transfer, the creation at as early a date as possible of a Governorship for the Presidency

of Bengal, of a new Lieutenant-Governorship in Council administering the areas of Behar, Chota Nagpur, and Orissa, and of a Chief Commissionership of Assam, with such administrative changes and redistribution of boundaries as Our Governor-General in Council with the approval of Our Secretary of State for India in Council may in due course determine. It is Our earnest desire that these changes may conduce to the better administration of India and the greater prosperity and happiness of Our beloved People.

SELECTED PASSAGES FROM THE REPORT ON INDIAN CONSTITUTIONAL REFORMS, 1918 (THE MONTAGU-CHELMSFORD REPORT).

INTRODUCTION

HAVING now completed the inquiry which we were directed to undertake in the decision announced in the House of Commons eight months ago, we beg to lay before His Majesty's Government this report of the conclusions to which we have come, touching the constitutional changes which are desirable in India. . . .

Gravity of the Task.

We do not suppose that any words of ours are needed to express our sense of the gravity of the task which we have attempted. The welfare and happiness of hundreds of millions of people are in issue. We have been called upon to revise a system of government, which has been constructed by builders who, like ourselves, had no models before them, during a century and a half of steadfast purpose and honourable aim; a system which has won the admiration of critical observers from many lands, and to which other nations that found themselves called upon to undertake a similar task of restoring order and good government in disturbed countries have always turned for inspiration and guidance. England may be proud of her record in India. She should have even greater reason for pride in it in future. Because the work already done

has called forth in India a new life, we must found her Government on the co-operation of her people, and make such changes in the existing order as will meet the needs of the more spacious days to come; not ignoring the difficulties, nor under-estimating the risks, but going forward with good courage in the faith that because our purpose is right it will be furthered by all that is best in the people of all races in India. But the fact that we are looking to the future does not mean that we are unmindful of the past. The existing edifice of government in India is a monument to the courage, patience, and high purpose of those who have devised and worked it, to which, before we set about explaining our own proposals, it is fitting that we pay our imperfect tribute.

RECENT EVENTS IN INDIA

The Announcement in Parliament.

On 20th August, 1917, the Secretary of State for India made the following announcement in the House of Commons :—

"The policy of His Majesty's Government, with respect to the Government of India, is in complete accord with that of the Government of India in every branch of the administration, and the development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire. They have decided that substantial steps in this direction should be taken as soon as possible, and that it is of the highest importance as a preliminary to considering what these steps should be that there should be a free and informal exchange of opinion between those in authority at home and in India. His Majesty's Government have accordingly decided, with His Majesty's approval, that I should accept the Viceroy's invitation to proceed to India to discuss these matters with the Viceroy and the Government of India, to consider with the Viceroy the views of local Governments, and to receive with him the suggestions of representative bodies and others.

"I would add that progress in this policy can only be achieved by successive stages. The British Government and the Government of India, on whom the responsibility lies for the welfare and advancement of the Indian peoples, must be judges of the time and measure

of each advance, and they must be guided by the co-operation received from those upon whom new opportunities of service will thus be conferred and by the extent to which it is found that confidence can be reposed in their sense of responsibility.

"Ample opportunity will be afforded for public discussion of the proposals which will be submitted in due course to Parliament."

A New Policy.

We take these words to be the most momentous utterance ever made in India's chequered history. They pledge the British Government in the clearest terms to the adoption of a new policy towards three hundred millions of people. The policy, so far as Western communities are concerned, is an old and tried one. Englishmen believe in responsible government as the best form of government that they know; and now, in response to requests from India, they have promised to extend it to India also under the conditions set out in the announcement. We need not dwell on the colossal nature of the enterprise, or on the immense issues of welfare or misery which hang upon its success or failure.

The announcement marks the end of one epoch and the beginning of a new one. Hitherto, as we shall show, we have ruled India by a system of absolute government, but have given her people an increasing share in the administration of the country and increasing opportunities of influencing and criticising the Government. With the development of the old system we shall deal hereafter. For the moment, however, let us review the last stage, which began with the reforms of 1909, in order to see how it came about that the old familiar ways would no longer suffice for the well-being of the country, and why the change should take the form set forth in the words of 20th August.

The Morley-Minto Reforms.

Lord Minto told his Legislative Council in March 1907 that, with the object of satisfying the constitutional aspirations of that day, his Government had been considering

how to give the people of India wider opportunities of expressing their views on how they should be governed. The increasing readiness of the landed and commercial classes to share in public life and to render assistance to Government, and the desire of the rapidly growing numbers of educated Indians to have a larger voice in administrative questions had convinced both Lord Morley and himself that it was time to carry to a further stage the reforms effected in Lord Lansdowne's days. The underlying idea of the Morley-Minto changes, which were introduced in 1909, was to associate the people to a greater extent with government in the decision of public questions. With this end in view, one seat on the Governor-General's and one on each of the provincial executive councils were in practice reserved for Indian members. All the legislative councils were enlarged, and all were given a real and substantial elected element, while the provincial legislative councils were also given a non-official majority. The right of discussing questions of public interest was also conceded to the councils. This gave members a real opportunity of exercising some influence on questions of administration and finance, and though the executive government was left free to act upon such recommendations as it thought fit, the concession was regarded by persons of insight as perhaps the most important part of the changes. The institution of finance committees of the councils also gave the elected members a direct share in framing limited portions of the budget. Their scope in this direction, however, was extremely restricted, being confined to the small margin of expenditure available for optional schemes—that is, such as had not already been definitely selected by the Government for execution. Not only was the amount available small, but in the nature of the case the schemes under consideration were generally of secondary importance. It was thought impossible to introduce a general system of direct election with territorial constituencies; and indirect election was accordingly retained, except in the case of Muhammadans and certain other special electorates.

Their Character and Reception.

The Morley-Minto reforms were essentially of an evolutionary character: they were a natural extension of the previously existing system. Excessive claims were made for them in the enthusiasm of the moment, but in any case they cannot justly be described as embodying any new policy. The change was one of degree, and not of kind. Lord Morley himself emphatically repudiated the idea that the measures were in any sense a step towards parliamentary government. They were based on the fundamental principle that the executive government should retain the final decision of all questions, although some degree of popular control over legislation was established in the provinces by providing small non-official majorities.

Decentralisation Commission.

It is almost a truism to say that any extension of popular control over an official system of government must be accompanied by some relaxation of the bonds of superior official authority. It was appropriate, therefore, that even the reforms of Lord Minto's time synchronised with an attempt to relax the closeness of the control exercised by the Government of India and the Secretary of State over the provinces. Between the constitutional changes and the attempts at decentralisation a certain parallelism is discernible. The administration of Lord Curzon had been marked by a great period of investigatory and constructive activity. Department after department, service after service was overhauled and a new programme of work laid down for it. Principles were enunciated and standards set. New departments or new authorities were created to relieve or to improve the existing machinery. All this tended to a marked concentration of authority in the hands of the Central Government, against which a natural reaction in due course occurred. In addition, provincial Governments were beginning to chafe under financial and administrative restrictions, devised for a more primitive system, which fettered them in their plans of individual develop-

ment. Complaints were heard also that the prevalent unrest was due in part to loss of touch between officials and the people. The district officer was said to be too closely bound by rules and regulations, too much occupied in writing to his official superiors, too much of a machine and too little of a personality. These reasons led to the appointment of the Royal Commission on Decentralisation, which presented its report in 1909. The report surveyed the relations between the Indian and the provincial Governments, and also between the latter and the authorities subordinate to them, and recommended a series of measures having for their object the relaxation of control by higher authorities and the simplification of administrative methods.

It would be unjust in us to blame the Commission for not taking a broader view of their task. They stand on firm ground when they defend the maintenance of close official control in India by the absence of control by local parliamentary bodies; nor can they be accused of want of foresight, since they recognised that if the local legislative councils were granted material control over provincial finance, a greater separation of Indian and provincial revenues must follow. Their work must be judged by the conditions of 1909 and not those of 1911. It was the appropriate remedy for the situation then, the Morley-Minto changes. All we need say is that they mean to give the provinces a real measure of constitutional liberty of action now, measures of decentralisation far beyond those conceived by the authors of the report will certainly be necessary. . . .

The Imperial Visit, 1911.

The year 1911 was made memorable by the visit of Their Majesties the King-Emperor and Queen-Empress. It was the first occasion on which the British Sovereign had set foot on the soil of his Indian Dominions. The feelings of the people are warm and quick, the sentiment of attachment to a personal ruler is strong, and the King's

presence among them was felt to be an act of Royal kindness and affection, which stirred the heart of India to its depth. The visit proved the deep loyalty of the masses of the people, which His Majesty's message of hope for the future did much to confirm. As the message from the Princes and peoples of India to the people of Great Britain and Ireland put it: "Their Imperial Majesties have drawn closer the bonds that unite England and India, and have deepened and intensified the traditional feeling of loyalty and devotion to the throne and person of the Sovereign," and "we are confident that this great and historic event marks the beginning of a new era ensuring greater happiness, prosperity, and progress to the people of India under the ægis of the Crown."

The Outbreak of War. India's Loyalty.

We have tried to describe India's chief preoccupations at the time when war broke out. The war has affected India in many ways, but above all it has become the predominant factor in the present political situation. Whatever qualifications may be needed in the case of particular classes, the people of India as a whole are in genuine sympathy with the cause which the Allies represent. The reasons of the entry of Britain into the war appealed to the educated classes, and they have never faltered in their allegiance. However much they may find fault with the Government, they are true in their loyalty to the British Crown, and, as it would be easy to show from their own lips, they fully recognise and value the higher aims of British policy. . . . The spectacle of Indian troops going forth gladly to fight for justice and right side by side with the British army appealed intensely to India's imagination. It was a source of legitimate pride and delight to her people that Indian regiments should be deemed fit to face the most highly trained enemy in the world. The Indian Princes and the great landed proprietors responded splendidly from the very beginning of the war to the calls made upon them. Many offered their personal services, and several Princes have been in the field. Offers of men and money

at once began to flow in, and we are proud to add that the steady flow of contributions has hardly diminished, though the war is now nearing the end of its fourth year. . . . The rural population as a whole has been affected comparatively little by the war otherwise than by the rise in prices. For this reason it has been difficult to bring home to them in their remoteness the real issues of the struggle and the obligations imposed by it. But this has not been the case in areas where recruitment for the army has taken place. There interest has been awakened with remarkable results, especially in the Punjab, despite the events recorded in the succeeding paragraph, and every effort has been made to extend such areas and to open new ones. . . .

Attitude of the Politicians.

We consider that the attitude of Indian political leaders in the first stages of the war was worthy of all praise. They responded loyally to Lord Hardinge's appeal for the suspension of domestic controversy, and through the legislative sessions of 1915 showed a general desire to co-operate with, rather than to hamper Government. But we must recognise that latterly a change has taken place. As India settled down to war conditions, and lost after its first enthusiasm and its first alarm, the old tendency to criticism asserted itself: the Government was criticised with having itself departed from the principle of avoiding controversial legislation; and the politicians retaliated not merely by raising controversial issues, but by pressing on the Government more and more extravagant demands. We imply no criticism upon the Government of the time when we say that in the light of subsequent events we are constrained to wonder whether a bolder policy from the outset of the war, and a franker inviting of India's co-operation in all forms of war effort might not have done much to steady men's minds. The war is far from being won. Unless it is won India's political aspirations are a vain dream. We would call the attention of Indian politicians to this obvious truth. But the war and the

sentiments to which the war has given expression have made political reforms loom larger in India; and the fact that, among all the preoccupations of the war, time was found for an attempt to solve the Irish problem and to consider questions of reconstruction encouraged Indian politicians to press their demands also. The change in their attitude nowhere more clearly appears than in the difference between the tone of the Congress of 1913 and that of 1916.

Effects of the War. New Sense of Self-esteem.

But for the real and lasting effects of the war on India's destiny we should look neither to the generous help of the Princes, nor to the loyalty of the people as a whole, nor to the misguided activities of revolutionary gangs, nor yet to the attitude of the political leaders. They must be sought deeper and, we think, in two main directions. First, the war has given to India a new sense of self-esteem. She has, in the words of Sir Satyendra Sinha,* "a feeling of profound pride that she has not fallen behind other portions of the British Empire, but has stood shoulder to shoulder with them in the hour of their sorest trial." She feels that she has been tried and not found wanting, that thereby her status has been raised, and that it is only her due that her higher status should be recognised by Great Britain and the world at large. The war has given an interest in public affairs to many thousands who were indifferent before. Many men, using language familiar to them in the past, claim that she should receive some boon as a reward for her services, but we do not think that this expresses the general feeling well or justly. We prefer to say that we find a general belief that India has proved herself worthy of further trust and of a more liberal form of government, and that whatever changes are made should be made in recognition of her own progress rather than as the reward for any services which she has rendered.

* Afterwards, as Lord Sinha of Raipur, Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for India (January 1919–October 1920).

Emphasis on Self-determination.

Further, the war has come to be regarded more and more clearly as a struggle between liberty and despotism, a struggle for the right of small nations and for the right of all people to rule their own destinies. Attention is repeatedly called to the fact that in Europe Britain is fighting on the side of liberty, and it is urged that Britain cannot deny to the people of India that for which she is herself fighting in Europe, and in the fight for which she has been helped by India's blood and treasure. The revolution in Russia in its beginning was regarded in India as a triumph over despotism; and, notwithstanding the fact that it has since involved that unhappy country in anarchy and dismemberment, it has given impetus to Indian political aspirations. The speeches of English and American statesmen, proclaiming the necessity for destroying German militarism, and for conceding the right of self-determination to the nations, have had much effect upon political opinion in India and have contributed to give new force and vitality to the demand for self-government, which was making itself more widely heard among the progressive section of the people. . . .

Need for a New Policy.

On all sides it was felt that the situation demanded a new handling. The latter part of Lord Hardinge's tenure of office was largely devoted to a preliminary and informal examination of the changes which were possible and prudent; and Lord Chelmsford's first act was to take up the inquiry from the point where his predecessor left it, and to concentrate attention in the first place on a declaration of policy. The Cabinet's preoccupation with the war inevitably delayed the decision of questions so delicate and complex; and while the discussions between India, the India Office, and the Cabinet were proceeding came Mr. Chamberlain's resignation of his office as Secretary of State. India had learned during his tenure of office, and especially from the lips of her three delegates to the War Confer-

ence, how generously and steadfastly he had served her interests, and his retirement was as much regretted in that country as in England. Meanwhile the difficulties of administration in India were rapidly increasing. Lord Chelmsford's Government felt that without the declaration of policy for which they were pressing, it was impossible for them to act effectively on a directed course. The announcement of 20th August cleared the situation, and was hailed with almost as much relief by the authorities as satisfaction by the politicians. . . .

Mr. Gokhale's Expectations from the Reforms.

Speaking at the Indian National Congress of 1908 Mr. Gokhale justly described the Morley-Minto changes as modifying the bureaucratic character of the Government and offering the elected representatives responsible association with the administration. He looked to local self-government to provide the real school of political education, and anticipated that Indians would now have full control and management of local affairs. That expectation has not yet been generally fulfilled, though in some provinces advance has certainly been made. Attention on both sides has been directed more to the provincial councils than to local bodies, and the importance of securing what Mr. Gokhale called the base of the edifice has been lost sight of. This seems to us a very strong reason for placing in Indian hands the responsibility for the development of local bodies which still remains to be carried out. Secondly, Mr. Gokhale referred to the everyday problems of administration, legislation and finance as constituting the centre of the position : and in respect of this he believed that the reforms amounted almost to a revolution. In place of silent administrative decisions there would in future be open discussion. Over finance for the control of the Government of India would be largely substituted the control of discussion and criticism in the councils. (It must be explained that the Decentralisation Commission had not then made its report, and the anticipations of a full measure of financial devolution had not yet been dis-

appointed.) The admission of Indians to the executive councils moreover meant, he hoped, that racial considerations would recede into the background, and that the Indian view of questions would be effectively presented in the highest councils. As regards legislation, the non-official majority had gained a preventive voice in the provinces; and if the position was otherwise in the central council he thought that the Government of India would henceforth loom less largely in provincial matters, and that the elected members would have all the opportunity that they needed of influencing the course of provincial business. These concessions, he said, were large and generous; and they imposed two responsibilities. There must be co-operation with Government instead of merely criticism; and the new powers must be used with moderation and restraint and for the promotion of the interests of the whole people. He named mass education, sanitation, peasant indebtedness, technical education, as large outstanding questions which it was beyond the power of an official government to handle without the co-operation of the people. Finally, he appealed to Indians not to be content with dreaming; let them prove that they could bear such responsibilities as they were being given before asking for any more.

Reasons for their Non-fulfilment.

In the light of these anticipations it is not hard to understand how the Morley-Minto constitution ceased in the brief space of ten years' time to satisfy the political hunger of India. The new institutions began with good auspices, and on both sides there was a desire to work them in a conciliatory fashion. But some of the antecedent conditions of success were lacking. There was no general advance in local bodies; no real setting free of provincial finance; and in spite of some progress no widespread admissions of Indians in greater numbers into the public service. Because the relaxation of Parliamentary control had not been contemplated, the Government of India could not relax their control over local Governments.

The sphere in which the councils could affect the Government's action, both in respect of finance and administration, was therefore closely circumscribed. Again and again a local Government could only meet a resolution by saying that the matter was really out of its hands. It could not find the money because of the provincial settlements: it was not administratively free to act because the Government of India were seized of the question: it could therefore only lay the views of the council before the Government of India. As regards legislation, also, the continuance of the idea of official subordination led to much of the real work being done behind the scenes. The councils were really more effective than they knew: but their triumphs were not won in broad daylight in the dramatic manner which political ardour desired. This was one reason why more interest was often shown in resolutions than in legislation. The carrying of a resolution against Government, apart from the opportunity of recording an opinion which might some day bear fruit, came to be regarded as a great moral victory: and it is evident that topics that are likely to combine all the Indian elements in the council offered the best opportunity. Because the centralisation of control limited the effectiveness of the councils, the non-official members were driven to think more of display than they might otherwise have done; and the sense of unreality on both sides deepened. All this time the national consciousness and the desire for political power were growing rapidly in the minds of educated Indians; and the councils, with their limited opportunities, proved to be an insufficient safety-valve. While therefore inside the councils there are signs of hardening opposition and the weariness which comes of sterile efforts, outside the councils the tide of feeling was rising more quickly. For a short time after their inception the Morley-Minto reforms threatened to diminish the importance of the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League. It seemed as if the councils where elected members took a share in the business of government must be a more effective instrument for political

purposes than mere self-constituted gatherings. But with the disillusionment about the reformed councils, the popular conventions, where speakers were free to attack the Government and give vent to their own aspirations untrammelled by rules of business or the prospect of a reply, naturally regained their ascendancy; and the line taken by prominent speakers in them has been to belittle the utility of the councils, if not to denounce them as a cynical and calculated sham. We cannot now say to what extent improvement might have been effected by gradual changes in the rules of business, by relaxing official discipline, by permitting freer discussion, and by a greater readiness to meet the non-official point of view. However this be, events have proved too strong. The councils have done much better work than might appear to some of their critics. But they have ceased to satisfy Indian opinion, and their continuance can only lead to a further cleavage between the Indian members and the Government and a further cultivation of criticism unchecked by responsibility.

The Present Position.

It seems to us that the inherent weakness of the position created by the Morley-Minto changes is excellently brought out in the following comment:

"We must make up our minds either to rule ourselves or to let the people rule: there is no half-way house, except of course on the highway of deliberate transition. At present we are doing neither. We are trying to govern by concession, and each successive concession has the air of being wrung from us. We keep public business going by bargaining and negotiation: not, however, the healthy bargaining of the market-place, but a steady yielding to assaults which always leave some bitterness behind on both sides. This is in no sense the fault of individuals; it follows inevitably from the influences at work. Up to Lord Curzon's viceroyalty there was a sturdy determination to do what was right for India whether India altogether liked it or not. The reforms which followed his régime brought in a power of challenge and obstruction—influence without responsibility; and rather than fight, we have often to give way. We are shedding the rôle of benevolent despotism, and the people—especially those who are most friendly to us—cannot understand

what rôle we mean to assume in its place. We are accordingly losing their confidence, and with it some of our power for good. If we returned to sheer despotism we should carry many of the people with us, and should secure an ordered calm. But that being impossible, we must definitely show that we are moving from the Eastern to the Western ideal of rule. And, secondly, we must maintain the full weight and order of government while the move is going on. Otherwise we cannot look for either internal peace or the co-operation of the people, or indeed for anything else except growing weakness with the fatal consequences that weakness involves in an Eastern country."

In these words we catch an echo of Warren Hastings' pregnant saying, "In no part of the world is the principle of supporting a rising interest and of depressing a falling one more prevalent than in India." Transition is indeed a difficult business, and full of risks that we should be short-sighted to ignore. The old structure does not admit of development. All that could be done with it would be to increase the size of the non-official part of the councils—a step that would deprive those responsible for the government of the country of any power of obtaining necessary legislation. We must therefore create a new structure. That means time for the fresh material to form; real work for it to do so that it may harden; and retention of genuine powers of guidance, supervision, and if need be of intervention, until such time as the task is complete. . . .

Effects of British Rule.

We have seen how British rule succeeded the personal, absolute, centralised Moghul empire; and how the destinies of the people of India thereby became linked with those of a European nation, homogeneous by reasons of history and their island situation, which had developed under peculiarly favourable conditions the principle of self-government. India's own destiny had been different. She had been for ages plagued with invasion and split up and parcelled out by conquering foreigners or contending kings, and her people had become subdivided, in a manner to which there is no parallel in the world, by the inveterate antagonism of different races and religions. The miseries

of the period of chaos which ensued upon the break-up of Moghul rule have now almost faded from the mind of India; but for a long time they made her thankful for the peace and order which British rule conferred. We cannot summarise what followed better than in the words of Sir Alfred Lyall :—

"It may be affirmed that the moral and material civilisation of the Indian people has made more progress in the last fifty years than during all the preceding centuries of their history. Yet it has inevitably come to pass that the differences of wealth and learning, frequent intercourse with Europe, and the saturation of the educated classes with Western ideas and political axioms, have stimulated the desire for a larger share in the government of their country among the leaders of native public opinion. An efficient administration no longer satisfies them; on the contrary, it has created ulterior hopes and aspirations. We began with great organic reforms, with improving the police and the prisons, with codes of law, a hierarchy of courts of justice, a trained civil service, and all the apparatus of a modern executive. Latterly we have undertaken the gradual introduction of representative institutions, legislative councils in all the important provinces, and municipalities in every substantial town; we are seriously preparing for the slow devolution of local and provincial self-government.

"But the task of building up any substantial edifice of constitutional government in India is by no means easy, for all wide and uniform measures of reform are hindered by the immense area of the country, and especially by the number and diversity of its population; and undoubtedly this is an objection of enormous importance, since we have no precedents to guide us in the structure. It must certainly be conducted within the limitations necessary to preserve undisturbed and indisputable the fabric of British sovereignty, which is to the political machine what the iron rails are to the locomotive, the foundation and permanent way upon which all progress must move. Nevertheless, some solution of this difficulty is demanded; for now that the English have accomplished the building up, after the high Roman fashion, of an immense polyglot empire, the stability of the structure must depend upon a skilful distribution of weight, because excessive centralisation is radically insecure, and supports are useless without some capacity to resist pressure. The solution of these problems requires the sympathetic insight as well as the scientific methods of statesmanship, supplemented by the goodwill and the growing intelligence of the Indian people."

Purpose of Present Chapter.

It will be agreed that the character of political institu-

tions reacts upon the character of the people. This fact, that the exercise of responsibilities calls forth the capacity for it, is the best ground for confidence in the working of self-government in India. At the same time, we hold that, even from the beginning, political institutions must be devised with due regard to the conditions under which they will be worked; and therefore, before we set forth our ideas of India's new constitution, we propose in this chapter to describe as justly as we can the character of Indian society and the extent and kind of the political consciousness which it has hitherto evolved, so as to provide a touchstone to which all our suggestions may be brought. The task is not easy. Conditions vary enormously; our description must be a composite picture, and will not apply equally to all localities.

Basis of a System of Responsibility.

A material difficulty is that the matters most essential to our purpose do not readily lend themselves to statistical exposition. Let us remember what the working of responsible institutions in their typical form involves. The electors send men to the councils with power to act in their name, and the councils commit power to Ministers, over whom they reserve control in the form of the power of removing them from office. The elector controls his Government, because if his representative in council supports Ministers of whom he disapproves, he can at the next election change his representative. The system presupposes in those who work it such a perception of, and loyalty to, the common interests as enables the decision of the majority to be peaceably accepted. This means that majorities must practise toleration and minorities patience. There must, in fact, be not merely a certain capacity for business, but, what is much more important, a real perception of the public welfare as something apart from, and with superior claims to, the individual good. The basis of the whole system is a lively and effective sense of the sanctity of other people's rights.

Conditions in India.

These qualities are only developed by exercise; they are greatly affected by education, occupation, and social organisation; but, ultimately, they rest on the traditions and habits of thought of the people. We cannot go simply to statistics for the measure of these things. We cannot turn to the census tables and tabulate according to wealth, or literacy, or occupation, the number of people who might reasonably be given the franchise. None the less, we must try to realise the broad facts. Two dominating conditions will be quickly apparent to anyone who turns to the records and reports. One is that the immense masses of the people are poor, ignorant, and helpless far beyond the standards of Europe; and the other is that there runs through Indian society a series of cleavages—of religion, race, and caste—which constantly threaten its solidarity, and of which any wise political scheme must take serious heed. . . .

Extent of Interest in Political Questions.

The fraction of the people who are town-dwellers contribute only a very small proportion to the revenues of the State; but among them education has made some headway, municipal institutions have been at work, and the presence of political leaders among the professional classes has made itself felt. This is the radius to which interest in political problems is chiefly confined. The question is often asked, What ratio of the people really ask for greater political power? It cannot be answered with any accuracy by tabulating the circulation of newspapers, the number of societies, the sum-total of professional men or traders, or the population of colleges. There is a core of earnest men who believe sincerely and strive for political progress; around them a ring of less educated people to whom a phrase or a sentiment appeals; and an outside fringe of those who have been described as "attracted by curiosity to this new thing or who find diversion in attacking a big and very solemn government as urchins

might take a perilous joy in casting toy darts at an elephant." On the other hand is an enormous country population, for the most part poor, ignorant, non-politically minded, and unused to any system of elections—immersed, indeed, in the struggle for existence. The rural classes have the greatest stake in the country because they contribute most to its revenues; but they are poorly equipped for politics, and do not at present wish to take part in them. Among them are a few great landlords and a larger number of yeoman farmers. They are not ill-fitted to play a part in affairs, but, with few exceptions, they have not yet done so. But what is perhaps more important to appreciate than the mere content of political life in India is its rate of growth. No one who has observed Indian life during even the past five years can doubt that the growth is rapid and is real. It is beginning to affect the large landholders: here and there are signs of its beginning to affect even the villagers. But recent events, and above all the war, have given it a new earnestness and a more practical character. Men are coming to realise more clearly that India's political future is not to be won merely by fine phrases; and that it depends on the capacity of her people themselves to face difficulties and to dispose of them. Hence comes the demand for compulsory education, for industries, for tariffs, for social reform, for social, public, and even military service. For a long time many Indian leaders were content to criticise: they have now begun to construct; and because construction is a matter in which the Government can so greatly help or hinder they are more than ever anxious to take a share in the Government itself.

Political Capacity of the Rural Population.

The potential capacity for politics of the rural population, of whom the peasant proprietor and the tenant are typical, is discussed in the following extract from an official report:—

"Our rule gave them security from the violence of robbers and the exactions of landlords, regulated the amounts of revenue or rent that

they had to pay, and assured to both proprietor and cultivator—in the latter case by the device of the occupancy right—a safe title in their lands. The change was so great that they sank into a condition of lethargic content; even yet they have barely realised that Government has any other gifts to offer; as for the idea of self-government, it is simply a planet that has not yet risen above their horizon.

"But there are signs of awakening. They have already learnt an important lesson—that it is legitimate to bring their troubles to the notice of Government, and that a good Government will listen to them with sympathy. They are often contemptuously branded as the 'voiceless millions of India'; but the charge is untrue. They do not ask much or often, but that is because they want so little. Nevertheless, if they are aggrieved, they do not hesitate to say so. They may not be vocal, but they are certainly not voiceless.

"Hitherto they have regarded the official as their representative in the councils of government; and now we have to tear up that faith by the roots, to teach them that in future they must bring their complaints to the notice of an elected representative—further, that they have the power to compel his attention. We have to bring about the most radical revolution in the people's traditional ideas of the relation between ruler and ruled, and it will be a difficult and even dangerous business, for it is neither safe nor easy to meddle with traditional ideas in India. Unless the political changes now in contemplation are accompanied by an educational campaign directed to awaking in all classes alike, but especially in this particular class, a sense of citizenship, disaster will certainly result."

Interests of the Ryot

It is just because the Indian ryot is ~~important~~ and has not been directly represented in our deliberations that we feel bound to emphasise the great claim he has upon our consideration. The figure of the individual cultivator does not often catch the eye of the Governments in Simla and Whitehall. It is chiefly in the mass that they deal with him, as a consumer of salt or of piece-goods, or unhappily too often as the victim of scarcity or disease. But the district officer and his lieutenants know well the difficulties that beset him, and his very human needs; and in the local revenue offices these make up nine-tenths of the public business done. What matters most of all to the ryot are his relations with his landlord; but his fortunes are by no means to be disposed of by considering them solely from

the standpoint of "agrarian legislation." Much of the activity of Government comes home to him eventually; and whatever helps him in his difficulties adds enormously to the happiness of the country as a whole. It is not merely a matter of securing him in possession of his plot of land, of assessing his dues equitably and collecting them with discrimination, of advancing him money in bad days and waiting till he is in a position to repay it. A simple, cheap, and certain system of law is one of his greatest needs. He greatly requires to be protected against the intricacies of courts and the subtleties of laws and enabled to defeat the advantage enjoyed by long-pursed opponents. The working of all the great procedure Codes, the law of usury, of registration, of limitation, of contract, the Court-fees Act, the Stamp Act, is felt in the remotest village in the land. The ryot and hundreds of thousands of his kind may be lifted from penury to comfort by a canal project costing millions of pounds. One of his constant needs is protection against the exaction of petty official oppressors. Improvements in seed or stock, manures, ploughs, wells; the building of a new road or a new railway; facilities for grazing his cattle or getting wood for his implements; the protection of his crop from wild animals, his cattle from disease and his brass vessels from burglars; co-operative banks to lend him money and co-operative societies to develop his market; the provision of schools and dispensaries within reasonable distance—these are the things that make all the difference to his life. They have all been dispensed for him by an official government in the past; and we must always bear in mind that he will not find it easy to learn to arrange them for himself in future. He has sat on caste *panchayats*; he has signed joint petitions to official authority. But he has never exercised a vote on public questions. His mind has been made up for him by his landlord or banker or his priest or his relatives or the nearest official. These facts make it an imperative duty to assist and to protect him while he is learning to shoulder political responsibilities.

The Politically-minded Class.

In estimating the politically-minded portion of the people of India we should not go either to census reports on the one hand, or to political literature on the other. It is one of the most difficult portions of our task to see them in their right relation to the rest of the country. Our obligations to them are plain, for they are intellectually our children. They have imbibed ideas which we ourselves have set before them, and we ought to reckon it to their credit. The present intellectual and moral stir in India is no reproach, but rather a tribute to our work. The *Raj* would have been a mechanical and iron thing if the spirit of India had not responded to it. We must remember, too, that the educated Indian has come to the front by hard work; he has seized the education which was offered him because he first saw its advantages; and it is he who has advocated and worked for political progress. All this stands to his credit. For thirty years he has developed in his Congress, and latterly in the Muslim League, free popular convocations which express his ideals. We owe him sympathy because he has conceived and pursued the idea of managing his own affairs, and has not accepted the Britishman's rule as a permanent one. It is he who has been the main force in the movement which we have gone through, and which is still influencing Government and business, and of recent years he has by speeches and the Press done much to spread the idea of a united and self-respecting India among thousands who had no such conception in their minds. Helped by the inability of the other classes in India to play a prominent part, he has assumed the place of leader; but his authority is by no means universally acknowledged, and may in an emergency prove weak.

Their Relations to the Masses.

The prospects of advance very greatly depend upon how far the educated Indian is in sympathy with and

capable of fairly representing the illiterate masses. The old assumption that the interests of the ryot must be confided to official hands is strenuously denied by modern educated Indians. They claim that the European official must, by his lack of imagination and comparative lack of skill in tongues, be gravely handicapped in interpreting the thoughts and desires of an Asiatic people. On the other hand, it is argued that in the limited spread of education, the endurance of caste exclusiveness and of usages sanctioned by caste, and in the records of some local bodies and councils, may be found reasons which suggest that the politically-minded classes stand somewhat apart from and in advance of the ordinary life of the country. Nor would it be surprising if this were the case. Our educational policy in the past aimed at satisfying the few who sought after English education, without sufficient thought of the consequences which might ensue from not taking care to extend instruction to the many. We have, in fact, created a limited *intelligentsia*, who desire advance; and we cannot stay their progress entirely until education has been extended to the masses. It has been made a reproach to the educated classes that they have followed too exclusively after one or two pursuits—the law, journalism, or school teaching; and that these are all callings which make men inclined to overrate the importance of words and phrases. But even if there is substance in the count, we must take note also how far the past policy of Government is responsible. We have not succeeded in making education practical. It is only now, when the war has revealed the importance of industry, that we have deliberately set about encouraging Indians to undertake the creation of wealth by industrial enterprise, and have thereby offered the educated classes any tangible inducement to overcome their traditional inclination to look down on practical forms of energy. We must admit that the educated Indian is a creation peculiarly of our own; and if we take the credit that is due to us for his strong points, we must admit a similar liability for his weak ones. Let us note also, in justice to him, that the progressive

Indian appears to realise the narrow basis of his position, and is beginning to broaden it. In municipal and university work he has taken a useful and creditable share. We find him organising effort not for political ends alone, but for various forms of public and social service. He has come forward and done valuable work in relieving famine and distress by floods, in keeping order at fairs, in helping pilgrims, and in promoting co-operative credit. Although his ventures in the fields of commerce have not been always fortunate, he is beginning to turn his attention more to the improvement of agriculture and industry. Above all, he is active in promoting education and sanitation; and every increase in the number of educated people adds to his influence and authority. .

The Justification of an Advance.

We believe that the announcement of 20th August was right and wise, and that the policy which it embodies is the only possible policy for India. We have seen it estimated that the number of people who really ask for free institutions does not exceed 5 per cent. of the population. It is in any case a small proportion; but to the particular numeral we attach no importance whatever. We are not setting about to stir 95 per cent. of the people out of their peaceful conservatism and setting them free upon a new and difficult path merely at the bidding of the other 5 per cent.; nor would that be our reason, whether the articulate minority were 20 per cent. or $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the whole. Our reason is the faith that is in us. We have shown how step by step British policy in India has been steadily directed to a point at which the question of a self-governing India was bound to arise; how impulses, at first faint, have been encouraged by education and opportunity; how the growth quickened nine years ago, and was immeasurably accelerated by the war. We measure it not by the crowds at political meetings or the multiplication of newspapers; but by the infallible signs that indicate the growth of character. We believe profoundly that the time has now come when the sheltered

existence which we have given India cannot be prolonged without damage to her national life; that we have a richer gift for her people than any that we have yet bestowed on them; that nationhood within the Empire represents something better than anything India has hitherto attained; that the placid, pathetic contentment of the masses is not the soil on which such Indian nationhood will grow, and that in deliberately disturbing it, we are working for her highest good.

Conditions of Success.

If, then, our faith is right, what are the conditions of success? Obviously there is much to change. The habits of generations have to be softened, if not overcome; we have to call forth capacity and self-reliance in the place of helplessness; nationhood in place of caste or communal feeling. But we have great influences working with us in the spirit of liberty that is stirring in Asia, as in the rest of the world, and the intense desire of educated Indians to prove that their long period of tutelage may be ended and that they may take their place in the forefront of the world as a self-governing part of the Empire.

Position of the Native States.

We shall examine separately the series of questions presented by the Native States; but this general survey of the problems before us would not be complete without brief reference to them. The map of India, says Sir Bampfylde Fuller, "may be likened to an ancient tessellated pavement, the greater part of which has been replaced by slabs of uncoloured stone work. The *tesserae* represent the Native States." They extend over one-third of the country, but, being generally less fertile than British India, sustain not much more than one-fifth of the total population. We need not now pause to describe the way in which our relations with the Ruling Princes and Chiefs have developed, the limitations on their sovereignty; and, on the other hand, the limitations which the Government of India observes upon its interference in their domestic

concerns. These matters are regulated by agreements with the States which must be fulfilled whatever changes may occur in British India itself. Our immediate purpose is to point out how changes in British India may react upon the States. As we shall see, the volume of business which is of common concern to the States and to British India is steadily growing in importance. So long as such matters remain ultimately in the hands of the Governor-General in Council, the Princes may perhaps rest content with the means which they have at present of securing the due consideration of their views. But if the control of matters common to India as a whole is shared with some popular element in the government, it must be anticipated that these Rulers may wish to take a share in such control also. There is a stronger reason why the present state of British India cannot be a matter of indifference to the Princes. Hopes and aspirations may overleap frontier lines like sparks across a street. There are in the Native States men of like minds to those who have been active in spreading new ideas in India. It is not our task to prophesy; but no one would be surprised if constitutional changes in British India quickened the pace in the Native States as well, if the advanced Princes who have already set up the rudiments of representative institutions were impelled to develop them, and if even the more conservative Rulers thought it time to clothe their authority in more modern garments. Our business, however, is to observe our treaty obligations and to refrain from interference and to protect the States from it. We must leave the natural forces at work to provide the solution in due course. If change comes in the Native States, it can only be by the permeation of ideas, and not as a direct result of constitutional changes in British India.

Responsibility for Foreign Relations.

Finally we come to our supreme responsibility for India's relations with her great Asiatic neighbours, and for the security of six thousand miles of land frontiers and nine

thousand miles of seaboard. This line was violated when the *Emden* fired on Madras, and thereby made the realities of war unpleasantly apparent to some hundreds of thousands of Indians. But the military danger that centuries of painful experience have impressed so deeply on the imagination of India that it lingers in the thoughts of her people to the present day is that of invasion from the North-west. This responsibility for India's defence is the ultimate burden which rests on the Government of India; and it is the last duty of all which can be committed to inexperienced or unskilful hands. So long as India depends for her internal and external security upon the army and navy of the United Kingdom, the measure of self-determination which she enjoys must be inevitably limited. We cannot think that Parliament would consent to the employment of British arms in support of a policy over which it had no control and of which it might disapprove. The defence of India is an Imperial question; and for this reason the Government of India must retain both the power and the means of discharging its responsibilities for the defence of the country and to the Empire as a whole. . . .

THE PROPOSALS

Reasons for a New Policy.

If our account of the past development and working of the present constitution is an accurate one, it will be apparent that we have now gone as far as is possible upon the old lines. No further development is possible unless we are going to give the people of India some responsibility for their own government. But no one can imagine that no further development is necessary. It is evident that the present machinery of government no longer meets the needs of the time; it works slowly and it produces irritations; there is a widespread demand on the part of educated Indian opinion for its alteration; and the need for advance is recognised by official opinion also. One hundred and twenty years ago Sir Thomas Munro wrote :—

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"What is to be the final result of our arrangements on the character of the people? Is it to be raised or is it to be lowered? Are we to be satisfied with merely securing our power and protecting the inhabitants, or are we to endeavour to raise their character, to render them worthy of filling higher stations in the management of their country and devising plans for its improvement? . . . We should look on India not as a temporary possession, but as one which is to be maintained permanently, until the natives shall in some future age have abandoned most of their superstitions and prejudices, and become sufficiently enlightened to frame a regular government for themselves, and to conduct and preserve it."

The Logical Outcome of the Past.

Thus the vision of a persistent endeavour to train the people of India for the task of governing themselves was present to the minds of some advanced Englishmen four generations ago; and we have since pursued it more constantly than our critics always admit, more constantly perhaps than we have always perceived ourselves. The inevitable result of education in the history and thought of Europe is the desire for self-determination; and the demand that now meets us from the educated classes of India is no more than the right and natural outcome of the work of a hundred years. There can be no question of going back or of withholding the education and enlightenment in which we ourselves believe; and yet the more we pursue our present course without at the same time providing the opportunities for the satisfaction of the desires which it creates, the more unpopular and difficult must our present government become and the worse must be the effect upon the mind of India. On the other hand, if we make it plain that, when we start on the new lines, education, capacity, and goodwill will have their reward in power, then we shall set the seal upon the work of past years. Unless we are right in going forward now, the whole of our past policy in India has been a mistake. We believe, however, that no other policy was either right or possible, and therefore we must now face its logical consequences. Indians must be enabled in so far as they attain responsibility to determine for themselves what they want done. The process will begin in local affairs, which we

have long since intended and promised to make over to them: the time has come for advance also in some subjects of provincial concern; and it will proceed to the complete control of provincial matters, and thence, in the course of time and subject to the proper discharge of Imperial responsibilities, to the control of matters concerning all India. We make it plain that such limitations on powers as we are now proposing are due only to the obvious fact that time is necessary in order to train both representatives and electorates for the work which we desire them to undertake: and that we offer Indians opportunities at short intervals to prove the progress they are making and to make good their claim, not by the method of agitation, but by positive demonstration, to the further stages in self-government which we have just indicated.

Hopes for the Future.

Further, we have every reason to hope that, as the result of this process, India's connection with the Empire will be confirmed by the wishes of her people. The experience of a century of experiments within the Empire goes all in one direction. As power is given to the people of a province or of a Dominion to manage their own local affairs, their attachment becomes the stronger to the Empire which comprehends them all in a common bond of union. The existence of national feeling, or the love of and pride in a national culture need not conflict with, and may indeed strengthen, the sense of membership in a wider commonwealth. The obstacles to a growth in India of this sense of partnership in the Empire are obvious enough. Differences of race, religion, past history, and civilisation have to be overcome. But the Empire, which includes the French of Canada and the Dutch of South Africa—to go no further—cannot in any case be based on ties of race alone. It must depend on a common realisation of the ends for which the Empire exists, the maintenance of peace and order over wide spaces of territory, the maintenance of freedom and the development of the culture of each national unit of which the Empire is composed.

These are aims which appeal to the imagination of India, and in proportion as self-government develops patriotism in India, we may hope to see the growth of a conscious feeling of organic unity with the Empire as a whole.

Summary.

Let us now sum up our proposals. We seek to create an enlarged Legislative Assembly with an elective majority; to reserve to the decision of the Council of State, in which the Government will command a bare majority, only those measures which it must have power to carry in the discharge of its continuing responsibility for the good government of the land; to restrict the official *bloc* to the smallest dimensions and the least frequent activity that is compatible with the same guiding principle; to institute a Privy Council of India as a means of honouring and employing ripe wisdom or meritorious service; to admit a second Indian member into the innermost counsels of the Indian Government. It is true that we do not offer responsibility to elected members of the Legislative Assembly; and that we define the sphere in which the Government will defer to the wishes of the elected members not by specific directions in a schedule, as we have done in the provinces, but by a general prescription which we leave the Government to interpret. But we have carried the advance right up to the line beyond which our principles forbid us to go, and by confining the use of the special machinery of autocracy to essential cases where a public declaration of necessity must be made, we have gone definitely beyond the position implied in the Morley-Minto reforms. If there be among Indian politicians those who are impatient of any delay that they encounter on their way to occupy the citadel, they may remind themselves how often before in Indian history has it been said "*Hanoz Dilli dur ast.*" ("It is a far cry to Delhi.") Impatience we cannot and ought not to seek to satisfy. What we have done is to afford Indians a fair share in the government of the entire country, while providing in the provinces the means for them to attain the stage of responsible government to

which the beginning of responsibility for the Government of India itself must be the sequel. . . .

Relations of the Secretary of State with Parliament.

Whatever control over Indian affairs the Secretary of State keeps, he keeps in the name of Parliament; and it will not suffice to improve the agent, so long as his relations with his principal are not what they should be. Of all the great departments of the State, the India Office is at present the least concerned with Parliament. Parliamentary control cannot, in fact, be called a reality. Discussion is often out of date and ill-informed; it tends to be confined to a little knot of members and to stereotyped topics; and it is rarely followed by any decision. We fully realise the other preoccupations of Parliament, and yet we are sure that means must be found of enabling it to take a real and continuous interest in India. No one would wish matters that ought to be discussed and settled in India to be debated and decided in Parliament; but there remain large questions of policy with which only Parliament can deal. We are anxious that Parliament should be in a position to take them up with interest and to decide them with knowledge. We have already made one important proposal—that for periodic commissions to deal with the political progress of India—which will be of value for this purpose. We will add two further suggestions. We advise that the Secretary of State's salary, like that of all other Ministers of the Crown, should be defrayed from home revenues and voted annually by Parliament. This will enable any live questions of Indian administration to be discussed by the House of Commons in Committee of Supply. We have considered whether such a committee should be drawn jointly from both Houses. But it is in the House of Commons that effective control over the Indian administration will be exercised, by means of the debate on the estimates; and also it is to the House of Commons that the comments in the preceding paragraph mainly apply. We recommend therefore that the House of Commons should be asked to appoint a Select Com-

mittee on Indian affairs at the beginning of each Session. Such a Select Committee would, like other Select Committees, exercise its powers by informing itself from time to time upon Indian questions, and by reporting to the House before the annual debate on the Indian estimates. Like other Select Committees, it would have no administrative functions. The Secretary of State would appear before it to answer questions about those aspects of Indian administration in which he, and therefore Parliament, continued to exercise the right to interfere. Thus by means of interrogations and requisitions for papers the members of the Committee would keep themselves informed upon Indian questions. To such a Select Committee Indian Bills might be referred after their second reading. There would thus soon grow up a body of men in Parliament who took a continuous and well-informed interest in Indian questions; and by the Committee's reports the House of Commons would be invited to focus their attention in the debate on the budget on matters of importance which had arisen during the year. There is, we may repeat, no inconsistency in distinguishing between the general direction and the execution of policy, nor in desiring at one and the same time that the directing power shall be more interested and better informed and that the executive agents shall be given a larger measure of discretion within the limits laid down for them.

CONCLUSION

Conception of India's Future.

We may conveniently now gather up our proposals, so as to present a general picture of the progress which we intend and of the nature and order of the steps to be taken on the road. Our conception of the eventual future of India is a sisterhood of States, self-governing in all matters of purely local or provincial interest, in some cases corresponding to existing provinces, in others perhaps modified in area according to the character and economic interests of their people. Over this congeries of States

would preside a Central Government, increasingly representative of and responsible to the people of all of them; dealing with matters, both internal and external, of common interest to the whole of India; acting as arbiter in inter-state relations, and representing the interests of all India on equal terms with the self-governing units of the British Empire. In this picture there is a place also for the Native States. It is possible that they too will wish to be associated for certain purposes with the organisation of British India, in such a way as to dedicate their peculiar qualities to the common service, without loss of individuality.

Changes in the Control by the Government of India.

But it seems to us axiomatic that there cannot be a completely representative and responsible Government of India on an equal footing with the other self-governing units of the British Commonwealth until the component States whose people it represents and to whom it is responsible, or at least the great majority of them, have themselves reached the stage of full responsible government. Nor even then can we say that the form or the degree of responsibility which will be reached in India will exactly correspond to that attained by the Dominions. The final form of India's constitution must be evolved out of the conditions of India, and must be materially affected by the need for securing Imperial responsibilities. The dominating factor in the intermediate process must be the rate at which the provinces can move towards responsible government. At the same time, change obviously cannot be confined to the provinces. In proportion as they become more responsible, the control which the Government of India exercises over them must diminish. But it is not merely a question of the extent of the control, the nature and manner of its exercise must in course of time be modified. We cannot think that States on the way to responsible government, which have imbibed a large element of responsibility into their constitutions, can be controlled by a purely autocratic power. So also with

the duties extending over the whole of India which will be discharged by the Government of India as its special concern. It is impossible that while other duties which differ from them mainly in being local in scope or subject to provincial differentiation are being administered by responsible governments, those which fall to the Government of India should be administered autocratically. It follows, therefore, that change in the provinces implies change in the Government of India, but it does not imply that the change should be simultaneous or in equal proportion. On the contrary, the change need simply be so much as to render the Government of India a suitable instrument for controlling the provinces at the stage at which they have for the time being arrived.

And by the India Office.

Similarly, all movement towards responsible government in India implies a corresponding change in the constitution of the controlling agency in England. We cannot predict what kind of agency India will wish to maintain in London once she has attained the status of full partnership in the Empire; but it must be very different from the existing arrangements. These are based upon complete control by Parliament through the Secretary of State over every phase of administration in India. The Secretary of State is advised, and to some extent controlled, in the exercise of his functions by a Council designed to supply defects of direct knowledge and experience of India in himself and his subordinates in the India Office, and also to watch the interests of India in cases where these may be threatened by competing British interests. Both Secretary of State and Council, however, are in almost complete subordination to Parliament, which may, if it chooses, exercise its authority over every detail of administration in India. Now in relation to India Parliament will, we imagine, observe the principles long adopted towards the British self-governing colonies, and will contract its interference and control in direct proportion to the expansion of self-government. As this grows, the

volume of business in which Parliament will interfere will steadily shrink, and the occasions will be rarer on which the Secretary of State will have to exercise control and will need to be advised regarding its exercise. This points to a diminution in the establishment of the India Office, and possibly to a modification in the Council of India. But here, again, it is a question not merely of the volume of work, but also of the spirit in which it is conducted. In dealing with organisations which have become largely representative and in some degree responsible, the need for mutual understanding and action strengthened by consent will be continually enhanced.

And by Parliament.

Again, while the growth of responsibility in India will lead to decreased intervention by the Secretary of State and Parliament in day-to-day administration, the fact that India's further political progress is to be determined by Parliament makes it imperative that Parliament should be better informed about and more keenly interested in Indian conditions. The decisions to be taken in the future must to some extent be controversial: different advice about them will be offered from different sources; and Parliament, which is the final arbiter of India's destiny, should be in a position to form a wise and independent judgment. For these reasons we have suggested means of improving its opportunities of exercising a well-informed control.

Review of Proposals.

We conclude therefore that change in any one portion of the Indian polity will involve changes on parallel lines, but by no means at an equal pace in the other portions; and we claim that our proposals satisfy this fundamental principle. We begin with a great extension of local self-government, so as to train the electorates in the matters which they will best understand. Simultaneously we provide for a substantial measure of self-government in the provinces, and for better representation and more criticism in the Government of India, and for fuller knowledge in

Parliament. And we suggest machinery by means of which at regular stages the element of responsibility can be continuously enlarged and that of official control continuously diminished, in a way that will guarantee ordered progress and afford an answer to intermediate representations and agitation.

Need for Criticism.

In a matter of so great intricacy and importance it is obvious that full and public discussion is necessary. Pledges have been given that the opportunity for such discussion will be afforded. All that we ask, therefore, of His Majesty's Government for the present is that they will assent to the publication of our report. As we have said already, because it contemplates transitional arrangements, it is open to the criticisms which can always be effectively directed against all such plans. Hybrid executives, limited responsibility, assemblies partly elected and partly nominated, divisions of functions, reservations general or particular, are devices that can have no permanent abiding place. They bear on their faces their transitional character, and they can be worked only if it is clearly recognised that that is their justification and their purpose. They cannot be so devised as to be logical. They must be charged with potentialities of fiction. Hope of avoiding mischief lies in facing the fact that they are temporary expedients for training purposes, and in providing that the goal is not merely kept in sight, but made attainable, not by agitation, but by the operation of machinery inherent in the scheme itself. The principle laid down was the progressive realisation of responsible government. We have chosen the province as the unit in which it should be realised. Within that unit we intend, as far as is possible, immediate and complete responsibility in local affairs: responsibility within provincial governments in certain subjects, first to constituencies, and then to the legislative councils; the reservation of other matters to a part of the executive Government whose responsibility to Parliament shall for the time being continue; a machinery for periodic

inquiry with a view to the progressive diminution and eventual disappearance of the reserved subjects. We recommend no alteration at present in the responsibility of the Government of India to Parliament—except in so far as the transfer of subjects to popular control in the provinces *ipso facto* removes them from the purview of the Government of India and the Secretary of State—but we do provide greater opportunities for criticising and influencing the actions of the Government of India, and also a legislature which can develop, when the day of responsibility comes, into the machinery adapted to the new motive power. For these temporary purposes we have selected, after a prolonged examination of alternatives, what seemed to us the best transitional mechanism. Our proposals can only benefit by reasoned criticism both in England and India, official and non-official alike. They should be examined by the local Governments with whom we conferred, but before whom we have not had an opportunity of placing them in their final form. . . .

Conclusion.

We have only one more word to say. If anything could enhance the sense of responsibility under which our recommendations are made in a matter fraught with consequences so immense, it would be the knowledge that even as we bring our report to an end far greater issues still hang in the balance upon the battle fields of France. It is there, and not in Delhi or Whitehall, that the ultimate decision of India's future will be taken. The liberty of the world must be won before our deliberations over the liberalising of Indian political institutions can acquire any tangible meaning. We cannot close this document more fittingly than with the prayer, which we know all India echoes, that the principles of justice and freedom may be saved to the world by the splendid endurance and self-sacrifice of His Majesty's and the Allied armies.

EDWIN S. MONTAGU.
CHELMSFORD.

Simla,
22nd April, 1918.

DEBATE IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS (27TH FEBRUARY, 1924)
ON A STATEMENT BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR
INDIA (LORD OLIVIER):—

LORD MESTON: My Lords, I rise to continue the discussion which began last night on the situation in India. That situation is just about as puzzling and difficult as any that has arisen within living memory. It is by no means unnatural that at such a crisis there should be widely divergent views held by those who are seeking for a remedy. Two opinions, entirely opposite in character, seem to be most frequently and most persistently pressed on those who are interested in India's problems. One view is that held by what I may call the believers in the strong right arm of the British Government. "Rule India," say the adherents of this theory, "with a firm hand. Think a good deal less about self-government and a good deal more about good government. Revert to some of our old paternal methods, and the troubles of to-day will very soon evaporate." Then, at the other extreme of political thought, there is the opposite theory, the theory of what I may call abdication. "India," say the adherents of this view, "has no more need for us. Our work in India is finished, whether we like it or not, and we had better recognise the fact as soon as possible. Let us, therefore, give India what she wants with as good a grace as possible and clear out of the country as quickly as we can, lest some worse thing befall us."

I do not think any of us suspected the noble Lord the Secretary of State for India of being a subscriber to the former doctrine; but possibly some of us had apprehensions that he might have leanings towards the latter. After the statement we heard from him last night I do not know that those apprehensions are wholly removed, but they are certainly allayed to a very comfortable degree. There is very much in his speech with which it was possible to be in entire accord. One could not help appreciating the great and genuine sympathy which he manifested for Indian life and Indian aspirations. At the same time

there were certain omissions from his statement. There were certain points which will probably be regarded as ambiguous when they reach India. The tone, if I may venture to say so without disrespect, was just a little impersonal and perhaps a little abstract, and it is possibly not quite easy for the noble Lord to realise with what anxiety his pronouncement is awaited in India by several classes: by those impatient reformers who are anxiously waiting for some sign of vacillation here; by those others who, perfectly loyal to the Constitution, are equally eagerly waiting for a clear lead from the Government with which they would fain ally themselves, and by those hard-pressed servants of the Crown who, in circumstances of very exceptional difficulty, have been striving to carry on the King's Government.

If I may, I would venture very briefly to restate the main features and the main needs of the situation as they appear to some of us who believe neither in the doctrine of the strong right arm, nor in that of abdication, but were associated from a very early stage with the reforms which are now in progress and who wish anything rather than to see them shipwrecked now. The position briefly is that we have in India a bitter uncompromising hostility on the part of a section of the community who call themselves Swarajists or Home Rulers. As the noble Lord mentioned last night, those Swarajists, during the first three years of the new Constitution—that is, from the time when His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught initiated the new Councils up to the second General Election at the end of 1923—held themselves entirely aloof from the Legislatures. But what he did not mention was that, in addition to that, they went up and down the country busying themselves in stirring up amongst the masses of the people a sense of disaffection, discontent with our rule and bitter racial animosity. The masses of the simple people, who in their dull, grey lives are never averse from new excitement, were appreciably affected—more so, it is true, in some Provinces than in others, but still, on the whole to a degree which was cer-

tainly neither expected nor hoped for. Many of the moderate men who would much rather be friends of the Government than opponents, were brow-beaten and driven and scared by the vehemence of the methods and the vituperation of the extremists into something like passive acceptance of the movement, and in some cases even into nominal adherence to it.

Turning to our own officials, harassed and overworked, isolated figures among the millions who surround them, it was quite impossible for them to carry on any effective counter-propaganda, or indeed any propaganda at all, so that this wave of agitation swept almost unchecked over the land. The form which it took at first was non-cooperation, refusal to take part in, or to sanction themselves in any way with, the work of Government, refusal to hold office, refusal to send their children to State schools, refusal to have anything to do with the officials of the country, whether British or Indian. As your Lordships know, that policy signally collapsed, and the Swarajists have now gone into the Legislatures, as we are told, in some cases in very large numbers, and in all cases with the deliberate intention of obstructing and defeating the Government and wrecking the new Constitution from inside. It is extremely significant that they were refused responsibility in at least two Ministries, and that they refused it. They mean to break up the whole work of the British Government in India, and the form which their demand takes at the moment is that of the immediate liberation of India from British rule.

This, in a few sentences, is the position with which we are faced to-day, and it is clearly not a position in which any statesman can talk light-heartedly about making concessions. In the first place, I am sure your Lordships will recognise that in this situation there is nothing that is new, or that is unforeseen. You have only to carry back your minds to those few weeks in the winter of 1919 when you were engaged in passing an Act—certainly with obvious reluctance in certain quarters on the part of noble Lords who were familiar with India—which gave effect

to a decision of the Government then in power, a Government which never fell short of any of its predecessors in Liberal measures—to give India the first instalment of democratic government. At that time the existence of this fierce opposition was perfectly well known. I remember, years before, a prominent leader of the Party, who only last week was one of the most remarkable speakers in the debate at Delhi, touring the villages in Bengal, and preaching his propaganda. Even then, fifteen years ago, when he took his station in the village market place and talked to the villagers, he raised above himself a flag of his own, and on that flag was inscribed the single word “Expulsion.”

To come to more modern times, the scheme which was drafted by the noble Viscount who is now First Lord of the Admiralty and Mr. Montagu, had already been rejected by the National Congress and the Muslim League before the Act of 1919 came before this House. Although the full vigour and venom of the extremist movement which has subsequently developed may at that time have been under-estimated, still the existence of the movement and the definite purpose of the aims to which it worked were clearly before your Lordships and before the public in 1919. Provisions for meeting that movement, and for countering it, were deliberately inserted in the Act. They were inserted as the result of long and careful study by a Joint Committee of both Houses of Parliament on which, I may mention, the Party to which the Government now in power belongs was represented. A Committee sat on that Bill all through the preceding summer under the chairmanship of Lord Selborne. I will only recall to your Lordships’ memory the fact that in the Report of that Committee, not once but repeatedly, occurs with emphasis the statement that measures for dealing with destructive opposition—measures, for example, such as that for certifying taxation which the Viceroy considered necessary—were to be recognised not as exceptional weapons to be used with great reluctance, but as part of the regular and constituted machinery of the Constitution. Why then

should there be any hesitation in using those measures, and handling those weapons, now?

But if there is nothing new or unforeseen in the Swarajya movement in its developments, there is also certainly nothing new in the fact that there are certain other sections of Indian politicians who, while they do not go so far as the extremists, and even ostensibly range themselves under the banner of the moderates, are yet dissatisfied. They do not go so far as to demand immediate liberation of the whole of India, but even a large section of what are known as the Moderate Party, or Liberal Party, have been recently asking for the immediate liberation at least of the Provinces. In other words, they secure one stage of political advance and they immediately ask for another. This action is exactly what might have been expected, and I am quite sure that it was not preposterous before the Select Committee. It is, indeed, if I am not speaking offensively, consonant with Oriental tradition. The generous giver of the Eastern fable is never one who gives with any discrimination. The Eastern prince who meets the wanderer who happens to secure his favour, not only empties his purse into his hands, but hands him over his horse, and his robe, and his sandals, and the ring from off his finger. And that is what the noble Lord the Secretary of State for India will be expected to do by those friends of mine if he responds to the demands that are now being put upon him. If the Government yields to this cry for Provincial autonomy to-day, I think we may venture to prophesy that twelve months will not pass before an outcry equally loud, equally persistent, equally convincing or unconvincing, will be made for Imperial autonomy as well. Is it possible for us to contemplate concessions which carry those effects with them? Is there any point at which, if we have once begun to depart from the course that was laid down in 1919, it will be possible for us to stop; any point at which the same forces which are at work now will allow us to stop? The Swarajists, as we were reminded last night, have just secured a victory in the Legislative Assembly. They have carried a Resolution

calling for a round-table conference in order to search for agreement on some radical alteration in the Constitution. It is never easy to refuse the specious appearance of reason which underlies a demand for a round-table conference.

But what is such a conference? What could such a conference, if it were accepted, possibly effect? It would placate absolutely nobody; it would drive the remaining Moderates, in self-defence, to range themselves alongside their extremist brethren; it would weaken immensely the power of the Executive Government in securing and maintaining order; and the only thing, I think, one could with safety say it would achieve is that the Swarajists would enter that conference with the unswerving determination to leave it either with nothing less than their full demands, or with a decision that the noble Lord would press for their full demands the moment that the conference was over. I think, therefore, we may congratulate ourselves and the Government on the decision that was announced last night, that no countenance would be given to the idea of a round-table conference. The extremist movement has certainly exceeded in its virulence and intensity anything that was foreseen in 1919, but it certainly has not changed its character or the destructive objects which it set out to accomplish. Why, then, at the bidding of a force which we foresaw and endeavoured to counter at the earliest stage of the new Constitution, should we scrap the policy on which Parliament determined four years ago?

Can any one say with justice that that policy has been a failure? We used to hear episodes like the Malabar riots quoted as proof of its failure, and a few days ago we heard a reference to that deplorable event in the Punjab, as also a proof of its failure. They may be proofs, and they are proofs, of the general unrest and unsettlement which is storming through India, and indeed through every part of the world, at the present time, but they are no more proofs of the failure of the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme than the dockers' strike is a proof of the failure of the Treaty of Versailles. On the contrary, surely the experiment, started

in great difficulties and at a time of great financial pressure, has done remarkable work for good in capable hands. Where it has fallen into the hands of weaker men it has not done so well. In all human affairs you will find some people who are capable of mishandling any machinery, even if it is not so delicate and complex as the new Constitution of India. I do not think it can be said from either side of the controversy that there is sufficient evidence to persuade Parliament that the time has come to throw over the new Constitution which they decided upon less than five years ago. I use the words "throw over" intentionally, although they may seem a little extreme, because in the same way as you can scuttle a ship by pulling out a few of the important rivets, so you will certainly scrap the new Constitution by adopting some of the amendments which are canvassed in India and in this country also.

So far, I have been trying to explain that there is nothing new or unforeseen in the difficulties that face us to-day. That leads me to the second and the only other question with which I shall trouble your Lordships this afternoon, but which is of greater moment—namely, what are you going to substitute for your new Constitution if it is scrapped? In this country, and in every other country which works a Parliamentary system such as we have been trying to inaugurate in India, the Government would go out and its place would be taken by a Government drawn from another Party and accredited by a clear and definite programme to measures for the well-being and advancement of the people. In India you will have nothing of that sort. You there have a perfectly simple and clear issue.

Either we adhere to the policy of gradually fitting India for self-government on modern lines, or we drop the whole idea and hand over the government of the country to men with no programme, with no considered political creed of national well-being. At least I have never heard of any creed or programme, and I do not think any of us could call the manifesto from which quotations were made

last night a constructive programme. It was the workmanship of some of his most virulent lieutenants, but if you turn to Mr. Motilal Nehru and ask for a programme he would say: "Pay no taxes; buy your own spinning wheel and manufacture your own clothes, and thus you will reach the Promised Land." But it is hardly on the strength of a creed of that sort that we shall be prepared to give up our trusteeship for the 300,000,000 of the Indian people.

We want India to come back to something that is much more real and more practical. The whole basis, as the Secretary of State pointed out lucidly and eloquently last night, of the present Constitution is co-operation between Englishmen and Indians in the government of the country, and the gauge of success is to be the work that is done by Indian leaders in that new co-operative government. Parliament has pledged itself to institute an Inquiry in 1929 as to the measure of that success and to decide, on the materials which that Inquiry will supply, what further degree of political freedom may be given to India. It is true that the Nationalist conscience pretends to be shocked at this sequence of orderly advances. What right, it says, has the British Parliament to sit in judgment on India's fitness to manage her own affairs; their nation has grown up to maturity and is capable of carrying on its own business.

All we ask is that it should carry on its own business; that instead of wasting their time and energy in noisy declarations about their policy, there should be some clear and tangible result of the actual work in the sphere that has been assigned to Indian Ministers and legislators, a sphere which is ample enough to employ all their energies and engage all their patriotism. India has been offered freedom, but on one condition—that power and responsibility will be freely given to those who will undertake it and, by wisely exercising it, justify the gift. Let us stand by that absolutely healthy principle. If His Majesty's Government will stand by that principle and make it clear that every use is to be made of the safeguards which the

Act provides against mischievous obstruction, and support, as I am sure they will, the Viceroy and his Governors in the exercise of the powers with which Parliament has specially invested them, we may believe and hope that India will gradually get over her difficulties and settle down into the paths of peaceful progress. It is vacillation that kills, unintelligible changes of policy, which, in India, are so often ascribed to fear, parleying with forces which mean to concede nothing themselves while they demand and extort one concession after another from us. All this leads to nothing but increasing trouble and ultimate disaster.

I have spoken about safeguards. None of us wants the safeguards to be all on one side. We want to see the self-esteem of India, which is the richest product of the new Nationalist movement, safeguarded in every possible manner. We want to see, whether it is in India, or in Kenya, or in any part of the King's Dominions, the spirit of co-operation enshrined in the heart of the British official and merchant just as much as it is in the heart of the Indian leaders. All this is quite possible. We cannot contest the desire for such amendments of the new Constitution as may be shown to be necessary from the experiences of the last three years. It is possible to be warm supporters of Indian reform, to believe firmly in helping India by every means towards her goal of Dominion, rather to sympathise with the difficulties and in some respects with the suspicions of Indian leaders, without yielding to the emotions and excitements of the moment. We have given India a Constitution which will enable her, if it is properly used, to embark upon a constructive programme of building up an Indian nation. We are now asked by a section of the community not to build up but to pull down, and as our warrant we hear nothing but the parrot cry that it is necessary first to destroy in order to build anew. We have seen how that theory worked in Russia, and we are surely not going to allow a similar combination of inexperience and idealism to inflict similar horrors upon India.

THE EARL OF BALFOUR : My Lords, we have had, in the course of the interesting debate which occupied us yesterday and has recommenced to-day, speeches from the responsible Minister, who has behind him all the advice of a great Office, from my noble friend Lord Curzon, who was himself one of the greatest of Indian administrators, and now from the noble Lord who has just sat down, who has a personal experience which justly entitles him to the most careful attention of your Lordships' House. I have nothing to add to this debate which can be based upon knowledge such as they possess, and the very few words with which I shall trouble your Lordships represent perhaps rather the opinions of an outside observer than those of a man who, from personal observation, is justified in offering his view upon one of the most embarrassing problems which, I believe, has ever faced the Government of this country.

I was a member of the Government which was responsible for the Act of 1919. I was not in the country at the time—I was engaged in public service elsewhere—but I have not the slightest desire to minimise my own share of responsibility in carrying out the great and most difficult experiment in which we are engaged. I believe that the course that was then taken was certainly the best course that we could take with the knowledge then at our disposal. I am inclined to believe that even with the additions to our knowledge which have since accrued—additions not altogether of an agreeable kind—none of us, if it were in our power to repeat the experiment, would hesitate to make an effort in the direction in which the Act of 1919 points, nor do I believe that that Act could in any very important particular be amended for the better. But I do not think any of us can well be satisfied with the way in which that experiment is being carried out in India, not, indeed, by those over whom we have any control, but by those leaders of Indian public opinion who seem to me wholly to misunderstand the character of the problem which lies before us and the character of the duties which our position in India throws upon this country.

We are apt, I think, to look at this question of gradually giving constitutional government to India as a perfectly natural operation. I think the noble Lord who has just sat down spoke, quite properly, of "liberating" this Province or that Province, and a general impression gradually grows up in Parliament, in the country and in the Press that we are acting simply as a drag upon a natural movement towards representative institutions which, but for us, would run a safe, a happy and a useful course, and that those in India who are hampering our policy in every respect are in reality only hastening the glorious time when free institutions upon the model of the great self-governing Dominions will prevail in India. I am convinced that that is one of the most profound delusions that ever possessed mankind. Free institutions on the British model, or on the Dominion model, are among the most difficult institutions in the world to manage properly. Free government is very difficult government. The easy government is the government of an absolute autocracy. The notion appears to be that if you leave India alone India will at one stride—taking an example from Great Britain, from the great British Dominions, from the United States of America, from other great free and self-governing communities—join their ranks as a natural equal. That is entirely to ignore the teaching of history.

This is not a question, as some people suppose, between inferior and superior. Do not let us use those words if we can help it when we are dealing with races. You cannot say which is the superior, and which is the inferior, race. India is one of the oldest civilisations, perhaps the oldest, in the world. It has given great religions not merely to the hundreds of millions of its own population but to hundreds of millions of other Oriental populations. It has a civilisation compared with which ours is contemptible in point of date, and it is really absurd to say that we are superior, or that they are inferior. But we are different. All the world talks now of constitutional government on the English model as if it were the natural flower of all forms of culture and civilisation. It is nothing of

the kind. It has been laboriously, through long centuries and with much difficulty, worked out with success in this island. It has been carried by the children who emigrated from this island to other continents. It has in their hands produced admirable results. It has been imitated—I will not say all over Christendom, but at least it has been more or less imitated all over the western hemisphere. But it is a very difficult constitution to work, and one of its great difficulties is that we are all apt to consider that that nation is most fitted for representative and Parliamentary institutions, for government by debate and discussion, which shows the greatest fertility of speech, the greatest ingenuity in devising Parliamentary manœuvres and in carrying out by Parliamentary methods, not the work of the country but the debates of the country. That is the external view which our form of government takes to the observer. But it requires national character, trained to that particular kind of work, to perform the fundamental duty of all Governments, which is that of governing. These sound most commonplace observations, and they are commonplace, but they are constantly forgotten. We habitually talk as if you could import a new constitution into an old civilisation, as you import a new locomotive or a new mechanism, but the other, which depends upon the secular training of a people, which depends upon those qualities the very origin of which is lost in the prehistoric period of human development—institutions which depend upon that cannot be planted, or transplanted, with perfect security that they are going to grow and flourish as they grew and flourished in the land of their birth. Consider what the special difficulties of India are in such a matter as this. India, as we all know, has got its secular immemorial culture, which has produced marvellous fruit in its way. Its history goes quite continuously back beyond the most distant records. In the whole of its history, as we know, or as we can plausibly conjecture it, I am not aware of any single trace of what we may call constitutional controversy, of debates such as fill our history, as to the proper methods by which human freedom may

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be developed on the plane of secular life. Marvellous things have been done on other planes, but on that plane nothing, so far as I know, has been done, and all that these modern statesmen in India do, or most of them do, is to take our catch-words, and to profess admiration for our institutions, but without apparently realising the spirit by which alone such institutions as ours can be properly worked.

Do not let it be supposed that I am pessimistic as to the ultimate result. All I say is that it is perfect folly to suppose that the result can be immediately attained. Indeed, I go further, and I say that all that is now going on in India increases my sense of depression with regard to the political elements in that country, because they do not seem to me to have grasped the first essence, the first beginnings of wisdom, in this matter of constitutional government. I have not the least doubt that they show infinite ingenuity in their Parliamentary manoeuvres, and I do not in the least doubt that their speeches are eloquent, admirably delivered, coherent and logical, and contain all the qualities that we admire in Parliamentary oratory; but that is not the main thing that is required. I cannot imagine anything less suited to the efficient administration of public affairs than a House of Commons, or, if you will, a Second Chamber, entirely composed of ingenious and eloquent orators. There is no chance of our having it in this country, fortunately. We never have had it, and I see no symptoms that the disease is going to come upon us in our political old age. But that is not the sort of impression which is given to those who look at us from outside. They seem to think that because readiness of speech, power of argument, and eloquence, are passports in this country to political success, those are the qualities which make us a successful free people. They are nothing of the kind. They are merely the external machinery by which those who represent the common sense of the people, determined to carry on the work of the community in a sober, quiet, and peaceful manner, carry out their great duties.

We have brought in a certain number of highly educated people in India and asked them to help us in beginning the work of spreading through India these ideas of free institutions. Do they show any one of the qualities and symptoms which are the very essence of these free institutions? They have shown all the qualities of contrivance, and ingenuity of Parliamentary obstruction, and all the smaller arts which hang about the practice of free institutions, but what they have not shown is that fundamental desire to make the Government of their country work, without which free institutions are not only perfectly useless but may be absolutely dangerous. I do not know that they have made any contribution in the whole centuries of Indian thought, or taken the smallest interest in these experiments of ours, which have slowly grown up into the free institutions of this country. They never have done so. They come fresh to the business, unanimated by the only thing which is worth having in the government of a free country, namely, the desire to make, irrespective of private or class interest, the work of the community go on. Their ingenuity is wholly destructive, so far as I can see. I am not aware that they have ever suggested a new scheme, or given a hint as to what is to happen if the British rule were to come to an end.

The noble Lord who last spoke described a banner on which he said was inscribed "Expulsion." Expulsion is not a policy. There is no construction in expulsion. By their own admission, tacit or explicit, all this desire for constitutional freedom is of exotic growth. It was born in these islands and not in the vast continent where they profess to rule. How do they mean India to be governed when expulsion is carried out? They might at least have given us an outline of the scheme. Have they done so? Are they going simply to pass a sort of Reform Bill for India, a sort of universal franchise? There never was a country in which the difficulties of constitutional government are naturally greater than in India. In the first place, there is no country so enormous on which any human being has ever thought of trying the experiment.

Who has ever thought of trying representative constitutional government, on the ordinary Parliamentary model, on a community of three hundred million persons? It has never been tried before.

But that is not all. They have to contend with their own unlimited history of their own great culture. There never was a vast body of mankind who were more the creatures of their antecedents than are the people of India. Their traditions go back unbroken further than—I do not speak of the Chinese, but certainly than those of any Western nation. And it is not merely that. Their culture, religious and political, appears to have blossomed naturally into the complex system of caste. I am not going to argue against caste; I am not going to compare a community without caste with a community which is in the meshes of caste. But if caste be the natural outcome, as it is, of all these centuries of Indian civilisation undisturbed from outside, can you conceive a soil less apparently, and on the face of it, prepared for the ordinary democratic government, which is the one which they admire by our practice, and which they admire with lip-service so long as it can be used as a weapon to destroy the present organisation of society?

I am not going to attempt to preach to these Indian agitators what is their duty. To me, indeed, it seems quite obvious that they are committing a great crime against their fellow countrymen and against general civilisation if they set to work merely to shatter what they find, without giving us, or themselves, the least suggestion of what it is they want to put in its place. Nothing that I say is likely to move them, but, after all, we have a duty to perform, too. We find ourselves the masters of this vast continent. Not till we came was the great Indian continent ever welded into a great unity. Not till we came was it possible to find any mitigation in free institutions for the system of absolutism which has immemorially prevailed over that country—sometimes absolute Governments governing huge tracts of it, sometimes broken up into smaller kingdoms, but always on the strictest absolutist

system, uncontrolled by any authority based upon a broader scheme.

Now, for the first time as far as I know in the history of the world, we have in our own free institutions, in the criticism which takes place in the House of Commons, in this Chamber, in the British Press—we have been able to combine something that is good in the system of free institutions with all that can be found of good in absolute government. It is a wholly unknown combination so far as history goes. It has been worked by us in the time that we have had control, I believe, to the unmixed advantage of this huge population. What are you going to put into its place? If you leave India to herself it is as absolutely certain as anything can be that she will relapse into what is the natural organisation of society in that part of the world, which is absolute government. There may be a transition of free institutions, possibly—certainly. It would probably be found unworkable, intolerable in practice, unintelligible to vast masses of the population, and no prophecy can be so certain than that the destruction of British rule means the resumption of all that is least good in the gradual growth of Indian society.

Are we going so far to show ourselves incapable of carrying the burden which has gradually been thrust upon us as to leave these 300,000,000 to that most certain fate? I cannot believe it. There is no alternative that I can see but the alternative which was adopted in 1919, the alternative which His Majesty's Government accepted, which the noble Lord who has just sat down accepts, and for which my noble friend near me (the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston) spoke last night. We here are all at one upon that, but let us remember that by saying we insist on seeing how the experiment works we are not delaying free institutions in India. We are doing what we can to make one of the most difficult tasks ever undertaken a possible task. It may prove—please Heaven it will not so prove, but it may prove that the thing is impossible. It may prove that this new experiment of giving for the first time our special form of institutions to 300,000,000

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people, divided by every species of caste and religious divisions, is an impossible one. I hope better things.

But the idea that it can be done by a stroke of the pen, and that, if our hands are forced, these gentlemen, who have not shown that they possess the glimmer of a constructive idea in the whole of their mental outfit, can bring either freedom or felicity to the 300,000,000 people for whom we are responsible is surely one of the most fantastic dreams that ever occurred to the wildest of political speculators. The task before His Majesty's Government, and before any Government that may succeed them, is one of extreme difficulty. We cannot shirk it. We cannot put it on one side. The burden is there, and must be borne. But it will require the utmost resolution, the utmost courage, the utmost patriotism, and a perfect contempt for catchwords if we are to carry it out ultimately with success.

STATEMENT BY THE VICEROY AND GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA (LORD IRWIN), 8TH NOVEMBER, 1927.

EIGHT years ago the British Parliament enacted a statute which regulated the conditions under which India might learn by actual experience whether or not the Western system of representative government was the most appropriate means through which she might attain responsible self-government within the Empire. That statute never professed to incorporate irrevocable decisions, and recognised that its work must of necessity be reviewed in the light of fuller knowledge with the lapse of years. Parliament accordingly enacted that, at the end of ten years at least, a Statutory Commission should be appointed to examine and report upon the progress made.

Considerable pressure has during recent years been exercised to secure the anticipation of the statute, but His Majesty's Government has hitherto felt that circumstances in India were not such as to justify, in the interests of India itself, advancement of the date at which future development of the constitution would be considered. So long as unwise counsels of political non-co-operation prevailed

it was evident that the conditions requisite for calm appraisal of a complicated constitutional problem were lacking, and that an earlier inquiry would have been likely only to crystallise in opposition two points of view between which it must be the aim and the duty of statesmanship to effect reconciliation. But there have been signs latterly that while those who have been foremost in advancing the claims of India to full self-government have in no way abandoned the principles they have felt it their duty to assert, yet there is in many quarters a greater disposition to deal with the actual facts of the situation and to appreciate what I believe to be most indubitably true, namely, that the differences which exist on these matters are differences of method or pace and not differences of principle or disagreements as to the goal which we all alike desire to reach.

It is also certain that the review, if it is to be thorough and deal adequately with the issues that will claim attention, will have much ground to cover, and, both for this stage and for those that will necessarily follow, it is important to ensure a sufficient allowance of time without unduly prolonged postponing of the date by which final action could be undertaken.

There is another element in the present position which is immediately relevant to the question of when the work of the Commission should begin. We are all aware of the great, the unhappily great, part played in the life of India recently by communal tension and antagonism and of the obstacles thus imposed to Indian political development. It might be argued that in such circumstances it was desirable to delay the institution of the Commission as long as possible, in the hope that this trouble might in the meantime abate. On the other hand, it seems not impossible that the uncertainty of what constitutional change might be imminent may have served to sharpen this antagonism and that each side may have been, consciously or unconsciously, actuated by desire to strengthen, as they supposed, their relative positions in anticipation of the Statutory Commission. Wherever such activities

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may first begin, the result is to create a vicious circle in which all communities are likely to feel themselves constrained to extend their measure of self-defence. The fact that these fierce antagonisms are irreconcilable with the whole idea of Indian nationalism has not been powerful enough to exercise its influence over great numbers of people in all classes, and I suspect that the political issue is so closely interwoven with the political that suspense and uncertainty in regard to the political react rapidly and unfavourably upon the communal situation. Fear is frequently the parent of bad temper, and when men are afraid, as they are to day, of the effect unknown political changes may have, they are abnormally ready to seek relief from and an outlet for their fears in violence and hasty action. In so far as these troubles are the product of suspense, one may hope for some relief through action taken to limit the period of uncertainty.

Having regard to such considerations as these, His Majesty's Government has decided to invite Parliament to advance the date of the inquiry and to assent forthwith to the establishment of the Commission. Subject to the obtaining of this necessary authority, His Majesty's Government hope that the Commission will proceed to India as early as possible in the new year for a short visit, returning to India in October for the performance of their main task.

The task of the Commission will be no easy one. In the governing words of the statute which will constitute its terms of reference, it will be charged with "inquiring into the working of the system of government, the growth of education and the development of representative institutions in British India and matters connected therewith, and the Commission shall report as to whether and to what extent it is desirable to establish the principles of responsible government or to extend, modify or restrict the degree of responsible government then existing therein, including the question whether the establishment of second Chambers of local legislatures is or is not desirable."

His Majesty's Government have naturally given careful

thought to the most appropriate agency for the conducting of an inquiry so comprehensive and unrestricted.

The question of what should be the composition of the Commission is one to which the answer must inevitably be greatly influenced by the nature of the task which Parliament has to perform in the light of its advice. In order that the decision at which His Majesty's Government have arrived may be fully understood, it is necessary to state in a few words what they conceive that task to be. If it were simply the drawing up of a constitution which Parliament, which must in any circumstances be the final arbiter, would impose on India from without, the problem would be comparatively simple. But that is not how His Majesty's Government conceive it. The preamble to the Act of 1919 recognised, in effect, that with the development of Indian political thought during the last generation, legitimate aspirations towards responsible government had been formed of which account must be taken. His Majesty's present Government desire no less to take account of those aspirations, and their hope is to lay before Parliament—after the investigation into facts prescribed by the Act—conclusions which shall, so far as is practicable, have been reached by agreement with all parties concerned. It is with this object steadily in view that His Majesty's Government have considered both the composition of the Commission and the procedure to be followed in dealing with its report.

It would be generally agreed that what is required is a Commission which would be unbiassed and competent to present an accurate picture of the facts to Parliament, but it must also be a body on whose recommendations Parliament should be found willing to take action which a study of these facts may indicate to be appropriate.

To fulfil the first requirement it would follow that the Commission should be such as may approach its task with sympathy and a real desire to assist India to the utmost of its power, but with a mind free from preconceived conclusions on either side. It is, however, open to doubt whether a Commission constituted so as to include a sub-

stantial proportion of Indian members and, as it rightly would, British official members also would be thought to satisfy the first condition of reaching conclusions unaffected by any process of *a priori* reasoning. On the one hand, it might be felt that the desire, natural and legitimate, of the Indian members to see India a self-governing nation, could hardly fail to colour their judgment of her present capacity to sustain the rôle; on the other hand, there are those who might hold that British official members would be less than human if their judgment were not in some degree affected by long and close contact with the questions to which they would now be invited to apply impartial minds.

But even after such a Commission had written its report Parliament would inevitably approach consideration of it with some element of mental reservation due to an instinctive feeling that the advice in more than one case represented views to which the holder was previously committed. It would move uncertainly among conclusions of the exact value of which, owing to unfamiliarity with the minds of their framers, it would feel unable to appreciate.

We should, however, make a great mistake if we supposed that these matters were purely constitutional or could be treated merely as the subject of judicial investigation. Indian opinion has a clear title to ask that in the elaboration of a new instrument of government their solution of the problem or their judgment on other solutions which may be proposed should be made an integral factor in the examination of the question and be given due weight in the ultimate decision. It is, therefore, essential to find means by which Indians may be made parties to deliberations so nearly affecting the future of their country.

Balancing these various considerations and endeavouring to give due weight to each, His Majesty's Government have decided upon the following procedure :—

- (a) They propose to recommend to His Majesty that the Statutory Commission should be composed as follows :—

The Right Hon. Sir John Simon, K.C.V.O.,
K.C. (*Chairman*).

Viscount Burnham, G.C.M.G., C.H.

Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal.

The Hon. E. C. G. Cadogan, C.B.

The Right Hon. Stephen Walsh.

Colonel the Right Hon. G. R. Lane-Fox.

Major C. R. Attlee.

- (b) His Majesty's Government cannot of course dictate to the Commission what procedure it shall follow, but they are of opinion that its task in taking evidence would be greatly facilitated if it were to invite the Central Legislature to appoint a Joint Select Committee chosen from its elected and nominated unofficial members which would draw up its views and proposals in writing and lay them before the Commission for examination in such manner as the latter may decide. This Committee might remain in being for any consultation which the Commission might desire at subsequent stages of the inquiry. It should be clearly understood that the purpose of this suggestion is not to limit the discretion of the Commission in hearing other witnesses :
- (c) His Majesty's Government suggest that a similar procedure should be adopted with the provincial legislatures :
- (d) the vast area to be covered may make it desirable that the task of taking evidence on the more purely administrative questions involved should be undertaken by some other authority which would be in the closest touch with the Commission. His Majesty's Government suggest that the Commission on arrival in India should consider and decide by what machinery this work may most appropriately be discharged. This will not, of course, debar the Commission from the advantage of taking evidence itself upon these subjects to whatever extent it may think desirable :

- (e) When the Commission has reported and its report has been examined by the Government of India and His Majesty's Government it will be the duty of the latter to present proposals to Parliament. But it is not the intention of His Majesty's Government to ask Parliament to adopt these proposals without first giving a full opportunity for Indian opinion of different schools to contribute its view upon them. And to this end it is intended to invite Parliament to refer these proposals to consideration by a Joint Committee of both Houses and to facilitate the presentation to that Committee both of the views of the Indian Central Legislature by delegations who will be invited to attend and confer with the Joint Committee and also of the views of any other bodies whom the Joint Parliamentary Committee may desire to consult.

In the opinion of His Majesty's Government, the procedure contemplated fulfils, to a very great extent, the requisites outlined above. Such a Commission, drawn from men of every British political party and presided over by one whose public position is due to outstanding ability and character, will evidently bring fresh, trained and unaffected judgment to bear upon an immensely complex constitutional issue.

Moreover, the findings of some of its own members can count in advance upon a favourable reception at the hands of Parliament, which will recognise them to be speaking from a common platform of thought and to be applying the standards of judgment which Parliament will feel instinctively to be its own. For myself, I cannot doubt that the quickest and surest path of those who desire Indian progress is by persuasion of Parliament, and that they can do this more certainly through members of both Houses of Parliament than in any other way. The Indian Nationalist has gained much if he can convince the Members of Parliament on the spot; and I would therefore go further and say that, if those who speak for

India have confidence in the case which they advance on her behalf, they ought to welcome such an opportunity being afforded to as many members of the British Legislature as may be, thus to come into contact with the realities of Indian life and politics.

Furthermore, while it is, for these reasons, of undoubted advantage to all who desire an extension of the Reforms that their case should be heard in the first instance by those who can command the unquestioned confidence of Parliament, I am sanguine enough to suppose that the method chosen by His Majesty's Government will also assure to Indians a better opportunity than they could have enjoyed in any other way of influencing the passage of these great events. For not only will they, through representatives of the Indian Legislatures, be enabled to express themselves freely to the Commission itself, but it will also be within their power to challenge in detail or principle any of the proposals made by His Majesty's Government before the Joint Select Committee of Parliament and to advocate their own solutions. It should be observed, moreover, that at this stage Parliament will not have been asked to express any opinion on particular proposals and therefore, so far as Parliament is concerned, the whole field will still be open.

I hope that there will be none, whatever may be their political opinions, who will fail to take advantage of this potent means thus presented to them of establishing direct contact between the Indian and British peoples. There will be some whose inclination it may be will prompt them to condemn the scheme of procedure on which His Majesty's Government has decided. Others may criticise this or that part of the proposals. The reply to these last is that the plan outlined stands as a single comprehensive whole and should be so regarded. Of the first I would ask, in all sincerity, whether disagreement on the particular machinery to effect the end which we all alike pursue is sufficient ground for any man to stand aside and decline to lend his weight to the joint effort of the peoples that this undertaking represents.

I have never concealed from myself that there are, and will be, differences of opinion between the two peoples, just as there are differences of opinion within Great Britain and India on these matters; it is through disagreements accenting clashes of judgment that it is given to us ultimately to approach knowledge of the truth. It is also inevitable that on issues so momentous differences of judgment will be founded on deep and sincere conviction. But, if difficult, our general line of conduct is surely plain: where possible it is our duty to bring these differences to agreement; where this is at any given moment not practicable without the surrender of something fundamental to our position, it is our duty to differ as friends, each respecting the standpoint of the other and each being careful to see that we say or do nothing that will needlessly aggravate differences which we are unable immediately to resolve.

The effect that such differences will have upon the relations between the two countries will depend on something which lies deeper than the differences themselves. All friendships are subject at times to strains which try tempers and lay men under the necessity of exercising considerable forbearance and restraint. Such strains are indeed a sovereign test; for just as one is the stronger for rising superior to temptation to which another yields, so true friendship flourishes on the successful emergence from the very test which would dissolve any less firmly founded partnership. In real friendship each party is constrained to see the best in the other's case, to give credit for the best motives, and place the most charitable interpretation upon actions which they might wish otherwise. Above all, friends will strive to correct differences by appealing to the many things on which they are agreed rather than lightly imperil friendship by insistence on points in regard to which they take conflicting views.

Thus I would fain trust it would be in the present case. I do not think I am mistaken if I assert that it is the fixed determination of the overwhelming majority of citizens both of India and Great Britain to hold firmly by the good-

will which through many trials, and it may be through some false steps on the part of each, has meant much to both in each country. There may from time to time be misunderstanding of the other. Let us not magnify such things beyond their value: least of all let us not permit such transient influences to lead us to lose sight of the rich prize of achievement of a common purpose which we may assuredly win together but can hardly win in separation. It is my most earnest hope that this joint endeavour to solve a problem on the wise treatment of which so much depends may be inspired by such a spirit as shall offer good hope of reaching an issue to the great and abiding good of India and of all her sons.

SECTION III.—THE SERVICES

SPEECH BY LORD CURZON OF KEDLESTON AT THE BYCULLA CLUB, BOMBAY, 16TH NOVEMBER, 1905, ON RELINQUISHING THE VICEROYALTY.

(Extract.)

AND now, as the moment comes for me to utter the parting words, I am a little at loss to know what they should be. A week ago a man said to me, "Do you really love India?" I could not imagine if he was jesting. "Love India," I replied; "why otherwise should I have cut myself adrift from my own country for the best seven years of my life, why should I have given to this country the best of my poor health and strength, why should I have come back in the awful circumstances of a year ago, why should I have resigned my office sooner than see injury done to her now?" "Good," he said. "I was merely trying you—I knew it as well as everyone else."

Gentlemen, you all know it. There is not a man in this room, there is not an impartial man in India, there is not a Bengali patriot who now denounces me for giving him the boon for which he will one day bless my name, who does not know that no Englishman ever stepped on to the shores of India who had a more passionate devotion to the country than he who is now bidding it farewell. Nor will any Englishman ever have left it more resolved, to the best of his humble abilities and strength, to continue to do justice in England to India—India who, after two hundred years, still stands like some beautiful stranger before her captors, so defenceless, so forlorn, so little understood, so little known. She stands in need as much as ever—perhaps more than ever, when such strange experiments are made by many whose knowledge of her does not extend

beyond the fringe of her garment—of being championed and spoken for and saved from insult or defamation. Perhaps my voice for India may not always be identical with that of all her sons, for some of them, as I have said, see or speak very differently from me. But it will be a voice raised on behalf not of a section or a faction, but, so far as the claim may be made, of all India. And in any case, it will be of an India whose development must continue to be a British duty, whose fair treatment is a test of British character, and whose destinies are bound up with those of the British race. So far as in me lies, it will be a voice raised in the cause of Imperial justice and fair dealing; and most of all of seeing that Indian interests are not bartered away or sacrificed or selfishly pawned in the financial or economic adjustments of Empire.

A hundred times in India have I said to myself, Oh, that to every Englishman in this country, as he ends his work, might be truthfully applied the phrase, "Thou hast loved righteousness and hated iniquity"! No man has, I believe, ever served India faithfully of whom that could not be said. All other triumphs are tinsel and sham. Perhaps there are few of us who make anything but a poor approximation to that ideal. But let it be our ideal, all the same. To fight for the right, to abhor the imperfect, the unjust, or the mean, to swerve neither to the right hand nor to the left, to care nothing for flattery or applause or odium or abuse—it is so easy to have any of them in India—never to let your enthusiasm be soured or your courage grow dim, but to remember that the Almighty has placed your hand on the greatest of His ploughs, in whose furrow the nations of the future are germinating and taking shape, to drive the blade a little forward in your time, and to feel that somewhere among these millions you have left a little justice or happiness or prosperity, a sense of manliness or moral dignity, a spring of patriotism, a dawn of intellectual enlightenment, or a stirring of duty where it did not before exist—that is enough, that is the Englishman's justification in India. It is good enough for his watchword while he is here, for his epitaph when he is

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gone. I have worked for no other aim. Let India be my judge.

ADDRESS BY THE MARQUESS OF CREWE, K.G., SECRETARY OF STATE, TO OFFICERS NEWLY APPOINTED TO GOVERNMENT SERVICES IN INDIA (1911).

GENTLEMEN, this is no time or place for a formal speech, but I feel I cannot see you all collected here this afternoon without saying a word of welcome and a word of farewell.

The last occasion, I think, on which any Secretary of State addressed those who were going out to join the Service in India was in 1909, when Lord Morley, my friend and predecessor, and one whom I describe as the most distinguished living Oxford man, addressed the Oxford probationers at an entertainment which was given to them by members of the University. I sincerely hope that the practice of welcoming here those who are about to go to India may be continued in future years. So far as I am concerned, if I have the fortune to find myself here when the next time occurs for a start to India, I shall hope once more to give this reception and to see your successors, and I trust also that future Secretaries of State may see the advantage and feel the satisfaction which I feel in bringing about this small reunion this afternoon.

Some of you, no doubt, are already friends among yourselves; others of you, posted in neighbouring parts of India, will establish and continue friendships which may, I hope, last for the whole of your lives; but, I venture also to think, here you have the advantage of making the acquaintance of some of those who serve India on this side of the water, and that you will all be helped to get some further conception of the real solidarity of the Indian Service.

I remember hearing many years ago a story of an illustrious head of one of the great colleges, who on one Sunday in his chapel preached upon the text of the Parable of the Talents. He said that, addressing that particular congregation, he felt it would be altogether out of place

to allude to the case of the man who was gifted with five talents, and even to that of the man who was given two, but that he proposed to consider the character of, and confine himself and the congregation to, the one who had the single talent. Even if I desired to take that point in addressing this company, I could not do it, because, without any kind of flattery, it is well known to us all that the Civil Service, including that branch of it which goes out to India, is a thoroughly picked service. It is also striking from another point of view, that the Indian Service is relatively to the size of the country a small service. Without making any invidious comparisons with other countries, I am pretty confident that I am speaking within the mark when I say that in all parts of the world where, under other flags, there are countries governed under what one may call the "Crown Colony system," *i.e.* not with self-governing administrations, there is an infinitely larger proportion of officials belonging to the governing race than under our rule in India.

When Lord Morley was addressing the Oxford probationers he reminded his hearers of the familiar statement that members of the Indian Civil Service are on perpetual active service. It has been my fate of late, for quite a different purpose, to study the careers of a considerable number of men who have in past years held the highest positions in this work in the Indian Civil Service in India, and I have been impressed throughout with the exceedingly large number of those of whom it is specifically stated by their biographers that they were remarkable for the close touch into which they had got with the Indian races, and for the manner in which they had developed the sympathy of those among whom they were serving.

Now, in one sense, gentlemen, I will not conceal from myself that the test which is imposed upon those who now go out to India is in this respect a harder one than it used to be in generations past. As a nation the British nation has always piqued itself on its skill and tact in the management and control of races alien in blood to itself. On the other hand, it has certainly never been distinguished, and

I doubt whether it has ever piqued itself upon its particular adaptability in dealing with foreign nations, either in Europe or elsewhere, and, consequently, in the past, when your predecessors had as a rule to administer in a far-off, backward civilisation, and among those not so fully educated in the general European sense, the former qualities which I have mentioned may have more easily found scope and contributed to their success.

Now, on the other hand, a great many of you have to deal with those who stand on an equal plane with yourselves, both in intellect and in acquired knowledge, and that is why I say in some respects the task of the Indian Civil Servant tends to become continually and increasingly a harder one than it was in the days of some of those illustrious men whose careers I have been studying. Lord Morley spoke of the constitutional changes which had recently been brought about in India in 1909, just before he made this speech, and in the years which have since elapsed we have had full experience of these changes. I am speaking, of course, particularly of the changes in the Legislative Councils of India. We are able to say that the foresight shown by the Secretary of State and the Viceroy of that time in bringing about these changes has justified itself, and the result has vindicated their action, and has shown that in granting these increased powers they were doing wisely. But, of course, it has to be remembered from your point of view that one effect of all this is to increase, not merely the actual discussions that take place in the Legislative Councils, but both in the Press and elsewhere, and even in society, it has increased the amount of criticism which is levelled in India at the Government and at its agents.

Now I do not mean to say that the Government of India is likely to be subjected, or can be subjected, to the kind of criticism which is frequently levelled at His Majesty's Government, both corporately and individually. It is quite evident that in a country governed as India is, that kind of criticism—of lax criticism—could not possibly be tolerated, and it is no easy matter in India to draw the

precise line between what is inadmissible and what, however little one may like it, ought not to be suppressed. But that line has to be drawn, and we all of us, I am certain, in whatever official position we are, in India or in the India Office, must be determined not to resent excessively the criticism which is levelled at us for the work which we are conscientiously doing.

Now, gentlemen, you have to answer for and uphold the name and character of Britain in the very responsible positions which you will hold in India. The name and character of an Englishman, of a Briton, are, however, differently considered in different parts of India. Quite necessarily in a country where there are so many different civilisations, what may be expected of an Englishman in Calcutta or Bombay is obviously not precisely the same as is expected of an Englishman who is administering a wild district inhabited by uncivilised tribes.

I remember hearing years ago in India a story of a young ~~Englishman who went alone on a shooting expedition away into the wild country of the Malabar coast.~~ The poor fellow was attacked by fever in the jungle, died, and was buried, and the people where he died felt themselves in a little difficulty as to how his spirit might be pacified and not haunt them. It was necessary, therefore, to place upon his grave something distinctively British, which would keep the spirit quiet. They were a hundred miles from any cantonment, but I was told that a small party of these simple folk went down to this cantonment and purchased a bottle of whisky, two bottles of soda-water, and a paper of cheroots, which they placed on the grave; and I was told that, in spite of difficulties, every year a party of them trotted down for the same purpose. Well, whisky and soda-water are not things to be spurned at the proper time and place, still less cigars, but I should somehow wish that the concrete expression of our national genius had been in some respects different.

In saying good-bye, if I may give one last word of general advice, it would be to everybody who goes into such a Service as the Indian Service to cultivate some taste or

hobby of his own, outside his actual official work. It is quite clear that everybody cannot be a Sir Alfred Lyall and write verses in India, and everybody cannot be like other civil servants such as the late Mr. Hume, for instance, who was distinguished as a naturalist as well as otherwise. But there are plenty of tastes which a man can cultivate; and when I speak of tastes outside the ordinary field of duties, there would only be one here and there whose desire, for instance, would be to study the metres of Greek choruses or the properties of radium, but there are a vast number of tastes, some ethnological, some archaeological, some connected with the study of dialects, some connected with Natural History, and some connected with sport; for those who know anything of Indian History recall the amazing power which Sir James Outram derived from his prowess in the Jungle. There are a number of tastes of that kind, which, although they are outside ordinary duty, have the advantage of enabling a man in India to learn something of the inner life of the people in a way which he can hardly learn in the ordinary course of his official work.

It only remains to me, gentlemen, to wish you all the best possible fortune and prosperity in the work which you are undertaking—very arduous work as it must be, for you are distributed over many parts of what one is tempted to describe as a continent—to wish you every prosperity and success for yourselves, and good service to the State in the noble work which you are undertaking.

SELECTED PASSAGES FROM THE REPORT ON INDIAN CONSTITUTIONAL REFORMS (THE MONTAGU-CHELMSFORD REPORT), 1918.

The Administrative Machine.

THE easiest way of understanding the organisation of a province is to think of it as composed of districts, which in all provinces except Madras are combined, in groups of usually from four to six, into divisions under a com-

missioner. The average size of a district is 4,430 square miles, or three-fourths the size of Yorkshire. Many are much bigger.

The "District."

The district, which is in a collector's charge, is the unit of administration, but it is cut up into sub-divisions under assistant or deputy-collectors, and these again into revenue collecting areas of smaller size. The provincial Government's general authority thus descends through the divisional commissioner in a direct chain to the district officer. The district officer has a dual capacity : as collector he is head of the revenue organisation, and as magistrate he exercises general supervision over the inferior courts and, in particular, directs the police work. In areas where there is no permanent revenue settlement he can at any time be in touch, through his revenue subordinates, with every inch of his territory. This organisation in the first place serves its peculiar purpose of collecting the revenue and of keeping the peace. But because it is so close-knit, so well established, and so thoroughly understood by the people, it simultaneously discharges easily and efficiently an immense number of other duties. It deals with the registration, alteration, and partition of holdings; the settlement of disputes; the management of indebted estates; loans to agriculturists; and, above all, famine relief. Because it controls revenue, which depends on agriculture, the supreme interest of the people, it naturally serves also as the general administration staff. The revenue officials and, to a much more limited extent, the police convey the orders of Government to the people in a hundred ways. Taken together, these two agencies act as the general representatives of Government over the country to its remotest borders, and apart from them there is no other. Several other specialised services exist with staffs of their own, such as the establishments for irrigation, roads and buildings, agriculture, industries, factories and co-operative credit. These are controlled not by the

district officer, but by their own departmental heads; they may be regarded as a different set of strings connecting the Government with the people. But in varying degrees the district officer influences the policy in all these matters, and he is always there in the background to lend his support, or, if need be, to mediate between a specialised service and the people. . . .

Effect of our Proposals. In the District—

It is a commonplace to say that Indian administration in the past has depended mainly upon the district officer. We believe that no testimony of ours is needed to the character of his labours. The greatest work that has been done in India has been the familiarisation of the people at large with standards of public character and conduct which they accept as higher than their own. The country people have, and always have had, confidence in the English official, because of his integrity, fair-play, and detachment. He has given them peace and justice, and made life easier for them, and the vast majority of people ask for little more. It is impossible but that the application of our guiding principles should react on the district organisation, and we have to see how this will be. ~~Clearly our first and immediate task is to make a living reality of local self-government. This cannot be done by a few amendments of the Indian statute-book and a few notifications and executive orders.~~ Such methods only prepare the ground. We can bid the Government official—district officer or tahsildar—step aside from his position as executive officer of the boards, and assume for the future the rôle of onlooker and friendly adviser. We can transfer the execution of the board's orders from subordinates responsible to Government to employes of the boards themselves, and in part, we may perhaps hope, to honorary agency. But we cannot ourselves breathe the breath of life into these institutions. That must come with the awakening of the sense of duty and public spirit which the war has fostered, and which opportunity will develop.

and on the Services.

Further, as the principle of popular control is admitted into the Government through the medium of the legislative councils, some means must be devised of enabling the established services to fall in with the new order of things. The precise means of doing so will depend on what we have to propose hereafter as regards the machinery of government. Naturally there will be many men to whom the change will be irksome, while some men will find it grateful. But we shall be wise to minimise by every means that human foresight can devise the friction which a change in a long-established system tends to produce. Our aim throughout must be to make the change not needlessly difficult for the services, to enlist their co-operation with the popular element in the Government, and to induce on both sides the habit of goodwill and mutual toleration which is essential if India is to pass peaceably through the trying transitional period in front of her. We have, as we shall have, made due provision for the exercise of the duty which lies upon us to protect the services; but without goodwill and a readiness to co-operate it will not be possible either to retain the men who compose them, or to get from them the best that they can give. Our labours will be vain, and worse than vain, unless the Indian public men who will be responsible for the working of the reforms which we advise succeed in so working them as to secure for India the willing help and guidance of many of those who have led her thus far on her way, until such time as she has produced a generation of administrators of her own to compare with them in strength and foresight, integrity and detachment. Of the services much is being asked. We are confident that they will respond to the demand. But it will rest with the Indian leaders also to show themselves capable of statesmanship and self-restraint.

SPEECH BY THE HON'BLE SIR WILLIAM VINCENT (HOME MEMBER OF THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL'S COUNCIL), ON A RESOLUTION MOVED IN THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY AT DELHI, 11TH FEBRUARY, 1922.

(Extract.)

SIR, after what has fallen from the last speaker, I think it would be a good thing if we tried to get back a little closer to the actual propositions before the House. After all, we are not dealing with many of the questions which the last speaker raised at all. The proposals before us to-day are two. The first of these relates to the recruitment for the All-India Services, excepting those of a technical nature, which, according to the Mover, should be made, as far as possible, in India, and the second part of the Resolution deals with the question of educational facilities for certain technical Services. I do not propose to deal with the latter matter at all. There are others here who are much more competent to do so, and, indeed, I shall find it difficult to say all I want to say on the first part of the Resolution within the time allotted to me.

In the first place, Sir, I want to explain to this Assembly what the constitutional position in regard to these All-India Services is. The term itself is not very clearly understood by many, I fear. These Services consist of all officers serving under Local Governments who are members of the following Services—namely, the Indian Civil Service, the Indian Police Service, the Indian Forest Service, the Indian Educational Service, the Indian Agricultural Service, the Indian Service of Engineers, the Imperial Branch of the Civil Veterinary Department and the Indian Medical Service when the officers are in civil employ. At the same time, it must be admitted, the principle underlying the Mover's Resolution would, I think, apply to many other Services in India excluding, of course, Provincial Services.

Now, an examination of the Government of India Act and the Rules made thereunder will show, I think conclusively, what the intentions of Parliament were in regard

to these All-India Services. In particular, it will indicate that Parliament has very definitely vested the Secretary of State in Council alone with powers of control over these Services. May I cite section 96 (B) of the Government of India Act, because it is of importance that we should get the constitutional position clear? Sub-section (2) runs :—

"The Secretary of State in Council may make rules for regulating the classification of the Civil Services in India, the methods of their recruitment, their conditions of service, pay and allowances, and discipline and conduct, etc., etc. ;

"Provided that every person appointed before the commencement of the Government of India Act, 1919, by the Secretary of State in Council to the Civil Service of the Crown in India shall retain all his existing or accruing rights, etc., etc."

Then there is a further proviso about pensions. Reading the Rules framed under the Act, Honourable Members will find that all first appointments to an All-India Service, other than appointments made by promotion, shall be made by the Secretary of State in Council. Finally, it is said that every man holds office during His Majesty's pleasure. He may be employed in any manner required and no person may be dismissed by any authority subordinate to that by which he was appointed. I have drawn attention to these citations, because they show to my mind very clearly what the intention of Parliament was. . . .

Neither this Assembly nor the Government of India has really any control over the recruitment of these Services. It is quite true that the Assembly may make recommendations to the Government of India, and it will be the duty of the Government of India to consider them. But the Assembly will realise always that the Government of India cannot possibly make any public pronouncement without a reference to, and save by the instruction of, the Secretary of State on such an important subject. It is quite true that it is a matter to which Indians attach and always have attached great importance. It is also a matter to which, if I may say so, His Majesty's Government and the Houses of Parliament also attach the very greatest weight. And now may I refer for one moment to an oft-quoted docu-

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mean the announcement made in August 1917? What did the Secretary of State say on this subject?

"The policy of His Majesty's Government with which the Government of India are in complete accord is that of the increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration and the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to progressive realisation of responsible Government in India as an integral part of the British Empire."

Mr. Dwarkadas, in his opening speech, asked us to accept the principle which underlies his Resolution. The citation I have read—the reference to the increasing association of Indians in all branches of the administration—I think is a sufficient answer to him as to the intentions of Government. And now I want Members to look at the preamble of the Act, as altered by the Joint Committee. You will see that the reference is there specially made to the Services, and the Joint Committee give their reason for this reference. I cite a passage from their report:—

"Their reason for making this change is that an attempt has been made to distinguish between the parts of this announcement, and to attach a different value to each part according to opinion. It has been said, for instance, that whereas the first part is a binding pledge, the latter part is merely an expression of opinion of no importance. The Committee think that it is of the utmost importance, from the very inauguration of these constitutional changes, that Parliament should make it plain that the responsibility for the successful stages of the development of self-government rests on itself and on itself alone, and that it cannot share this responsibility with, much less delegate it to, the newly elected Legislatures of India. They also desire to emphasise the wisdom and justice of an increasing association of Indians with every branch of the administration, but they wish to make it perfectly clear that His Majesty's Government must remain free to appoint Europeans to those posts for which they are specially required and qualified."

At the same time, there is no doubt, however, that it was the intention both of the framers of that Report and of the Secretary of State when he made the previous announcement, that the number of Indians in the higher branches of the Public Services should be materially increased, and I hope to be able to show later how far the Government have gone in giving effect to that principle, but there were

always limitations. One of these limitations is described in the following words :—

“ There must be no such sudden swamping of any Service with any new element that its whole character suffers a rapid alteration. As practical men, we must also recognise that there are essential differences between the various Services, and that it is possible to increase the employment of Indians in some more than in others. The solution lies, therefore, in recruiting, year by year, such a number of Indians as the existing members of the Services will be able to train in an adequate manner and to inspire with the spirit of the whole.”

I may also say that Lord Sinha, while speaking in the House of Lords on the Government of India Bill, fully recognised that point and said :—

“ The Services, my Lords, need no tribute from me. Their work is plain for the world to see, and it is their work in the main, and its great results developing through the years, that have made India fit for this great experiment. But the passage of this Bill does not close the chapter of their ungrudging toil. India still needs, and will long need, men of the type which Great Britain has so long given her.”

It is quite clear from what I have read, firstly, that at that time His Majesty's Government and His Majesty's Parliament thought the retention of a European element in the Services was necessary, and, secondly, that in their judgment it was for them to decide as to the pace at which the Indianisation was to proceed . . . A suggestion, which I want to refute at this point, is that Indians do not occupy posts of authority in the various Governments and have no power to influence the policy of Government. If you want evidence to the contrary, it is here. Here, in this Chamber, are three Indians in the Council of the Governor-General exercising an influence which no one would venture to under-estimate for one moment, and I dare say that many will say that influence has been for the greatest good. In the Provinces is not the state of affairs the same? Are there not Indian Members of Council, Indian Ministers? In the High Courts is it not the same? In my own Province there are three Indian Judges out of seven, and can it be said, in the light of these facts, with truth that Government doors are closed to Indians where high appoint-

ments are concerned, or that Indians are not allowed to influence Government in its decisions as to policy practically and directly? We have this year, as regards the Indian Civil Service, gone further again in this direction of Indianisation by prescribing a separate examination for Indians in India—another great advance, in my opinion. It may not be all that Honourable Members wish, but it is an advance, inasmuch as up to now the one real avenue of recruitment to the Indian Civil Service was through Great Britain.

I have now tried to explain what the constitutional aspect of the question is, what powers His Majesty's Government have retained, and how far we have attempted to give effect to their policy. At the same time, I quite admit that the situation has now to be reviewed in the light of the Reforms. No one recognises that more than every member of the Services in India. There have been great changes in the conditions of service. Those who, when they came out to serve, thought they were going out to serve under particular authorities and to be vested with certain powers and authority, have to serve under vastly different conditions now. They must recognise it. They have recognised it, and that is one of the things that will deprive the Service of much of its attractiveness. It is doubtful if the Indian Civil Service will any more have the same inducements for men of energy and of initiative and anxious to secure efficiency. Individuals of this class may hesitate now before they come out to any Indian Service, and we may as well recognise this.

Then, again, there is this undoubted fact of the reduced amenities of this country, amenities of all kinds, and particularly social amenities and the amenities of everyday work. There is this atmosphere of hostility in which our officers have now to work. (*A voice* "No.") Who has the audacity to say "No" to that in this Assembly? I challenge any Member to deny that every District Officer in present conditions is performing most arduous and most difficult duties under almost intolerable conditions by reason of this hostility. He is often even opposed by men from whom he has a right to expect help and support.

Now these are all matters which must affect recruitment for the Services in this country and, in fact, have done so. I repeat, the District Officer to-day is subjected to incessant worry and harassment, but I must make myself clear on one point. In making this statement I mean no reflection on the Ministers, for, from everything I have heard, the Ministers have, in general, supported officers loyally and generously in the execution of their duties, and I am glad to pay this appreciation to them. But there are other methods of harassing a servant of the Crown, and it cannot be denied that officers nowadays are subjected to constant attacks based on misrepresentation in the Press and on the platform, and they are often not unreasonably apprehensive that, in the performance of dangerous and unpleasant duties, they will not get that support from Legislative Councils and the public which they have a right to expect, and this is really a serious factor in the position. They are also not without anxiety as to the security of their pensions in the future. (*Laughter.*) Honourable Members laugh, but those who come to serve India have, like others, wives and children dependent on them, and they cannot overlook the danger of the future; and the future welfare and livelihood of a wife and family is not a matter that any man can overlook. Sir, the feeling generally in the Services is that the conditions of service have been fundamentally changed, that their position is not the same, that efficiency may be sacrificed to political exigencies, and that the future is not assured, and it is at least probable that this may affect the number and class of recruits that come to this country. It is certain that many who, actuated by long family traditions of service in India, would have liked to come out to India will, in future, avoid this country as one in which to spend their lives. Indeed, I know of few men in the Service now who are anxious that any of their relatives or sons should come out to any Service in India, although they themselves have served for many years. I know that it is customary to speak of Englishmen in this country as birds of passage, with no permanent interest in India or its welfare. Honourable Members will believe me when I

say that many Englishmen, including myself, have spent much more of their lives in India than in England, and they retain an abiding affection for this country with which they would like, in other conditions, to have seen their sons connected. Who can tell me that I can forget my affections for a country where I spent the best part of my life, where I have made so many good friends, and done work of such absorbing interest? . . .

And here I want to advert to another aspect of the question, namely, the responsibility of the Government of India *vis-à-vis* the recruits for the Services. Speaking for myself, I think we are incurring a very grave responsibility indeed if we bring out a large number of young Englishmen to this country whose future is uncertain, unless it is clear that their services will be required, and it was for this reason partly that I really welcomed this debate. It does seem to me that a man has a right to know whether the people of India want Englishmen to serve here or not. If they do not want them, they can say so, but let them face the consequences. I myself believe that there will be a great need for Englishmen in the Services for many years. . . .

All these points show that really what the Honourable Mover seeks to effect is happening automatically; the question is settling itself. There is no need for this Resolution. India will not get Englishmen to come out here at present rates in the numbers that the Mover anticipates. And, Sir, if I say this, I say it in all sorrow, for I myself believe that it will be a matter of the greatest misfortune to this country. I feel that there are many in India now who do not realise the great benefits that have been conferred upon this country by members of the different European services. (*A Voice*: "Some do.") It is not merely a question of material progress of roads and railways and canals and bridges and buildings, but of the much greater moral progress that has been made in the country. It is not, then, mainly even a question of commerce, of industries, of mills or of factories; it is the inauguration of law and order, the free and equal administration of

justice, the right to live a free and civilised life in security, the protection against oppression. These are the really valuable assets which have been secured to India by these services. What was the state of India before the British administration was inaugurated? It is with this thought in their minds that I want Members to consider whether they wish at once, suddenly, to give up the benefits that have been secured to them for so many years by the members of the British services in this country. (*A Voice* : "No, no.") I believe the administration of this country will in future become of increasing difficulty, and I believe many an Indian will in future regret that in difficult times, times of great stress and danger, Indians have no European officer to help them in their difficulties or to assist them in the crisis that will arise. For myself, too, I look at this elimination of the Englishman from the Services in India from another point of view which is even more serious, and that is the breaking up of a great bond between this country and Great Britain which few thoughtful men can contemplate with equanimity.

I have now tried to put the facts before the Assembly as plainly as I can—dispassionately, I hope, and fairly. I quite realise that Indians in this country have every right to expect an increasing proportion and a largely increasing proportion of Indians in the public services. It is, indeed, unthinkable, to my mind, that a country which has Dominion status should at that time allow its affairs to be controlled entirely by a foreign service, and we have to look to the future. At the same time, the constitutional position is clear, and the final decision of this matter rests with the Secretary of State. Further, the problem is full of difficulties. In the circumstances I want this Assembly to consider whether it would not be wiser to await the reports from Local Governments, whom we are about to consult in the light of the various facts that I have put forward, before deciding a question of such great importance and moment to the whole future of this country. I do not think really Members have now information before them to enable them to decide such an issue correctly. Sir, I

leave it to the Assembly entirely to decide whether, in view of what I have put before them as to what we have done and what we intend to do, it is necessary to press this Resolution. I am not going on this occasion to express sympathy for or against the Resolution. I have attempted to put the facts on both sides clearly, dispassionately and honestly, and I leave the issue to them.

[The original Resolution was withdrawn, and an amended Resolution to the effect that an enquiry should be held "as to the measures possible to give further effect to the Declaration of 20th August, 1917," was adopted by the Assembly unanimously. A Royal Commission (the Lee Commission) was subsequently appointed.]

SECTION IV.—EDUCATION

SELECTED PASSAGES FROM THE REPORT OF* THE CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY COMMISSION.

THE STUDENT IN BENGAL *

I

THE education of a people is not given by schools and colleges alone. Other influences blend with theirs—the spirit and temper of the community which they serve, the power exerted over its thoughts and character by prevalent aspirations and beliefs, the tone of its family life, the rules and restraints imposed by its social organisation, the conditions under which its daily work for livelihood is done. . . .

All who know him will attribute to the Bengali a full share of the “keen intelligence and apt capabilities” upon which the King-Emperor based the expectations disclosed in his Proclamation to the Princes and Peoples of India in November 1908. We shall attempt an analysis of his gifts and qualities, with an appreciation of his characteristic excellences and of their related defects, endeavouring in our description of the strength and weakness of his traits and temperament to avoid both over-statement in criticism and any unmerited meed of praise.

In no country is it easy to arrive at an estimate, both general and just, of the powers of mind possessed by the younger generation, or of the quality of their gifts of heart and brain. But in Bengal the task is made more difficult by the differences in the early upbringing and social environment of Musalmans and Hindus, as well as by the temperamental distinctions which are characteristic of the eastern

* Vol. I., Chapter V.

and western parts of the province. We have also to remember the differences in the mental outlook of the dwellers in villages and of those in towns. The problem is further complicated by the presence of other communities, not least by that of the domiciled Europeans and Anglo-Indians. Nor must our analysis, if it is to include all the chief factors in the problem, fail to take into account the educational needs of girls as well as of boys. And, lastly, as no single generation lives to itself alone, but finds its freedom of development affected by the habits of mind and fixed preferences of its seniors, we must remember that young Bengal has to adjust many of its new thoughts and aspirations to the social tenets of the older generation.

In every land the typical and average boy compares favourably with his contemporaries of other nations in regard to some characteristic qualities of mind and disposition, unfavourably in regard to others. The English boy and the Scottish, like the French, or Swiss, or Dutch, or Dane, have their different points of strength and weakness, whether congenital or acquired through the influences of the surroundings in which they have been bred. If a general inventory be taken of his powers and disabilities, the Indian boy living in Bengal will be found to come up to a good average, when he is compared with his like in other countries. But he has some strongly marked gifts and sensibilities which give him distinction and are accompanied by certain compensatory defects.

II

To begin with the physical basis of his mental powers, he has, as a rule, a very retentive memory and good powers of hearing. The ear and the memory have, between them, furnished the chief physical basis for the traditional learning of Bengal. From time immemorial, scholarly lore was chiefly transmitted by oral tradition from *guru* to *chela*, from old to young. *Sruti*, or The Thing Heard, is the term given even to the highest kind of learning—namely, Revelation. And in a Hindu family of orthodox habits and old-fashioned

ways, powers of memory far beyond present-day Western standards are displayed. In the discussion of intricate points in the *Sastras*, a combat of words and of quoted precedents may be continued through many hours. Many of the older men can recite thousands of passages from memory, and without hesitation, or prompting, or need for reference, can repeat hundreds of pages of books. A typical Hindu grandmother of the old stock has an unfailing memory for sacred tales and folklore, both of which she imparts to her grandchildren from their infancy. . . .

The eyesight of many a student in Bengal has been impaired by poring over books by the insufficient light of a small oil lamp. And the visitor to many of the schools is shocked at the darkness of some of the class-rooms in which boys are huddled. In the homes of the professional and middle-class families of Bengal the boy finds little opportunity for developing aptitude with his hands or encouragement to excel in it. But Sir Rabindranath Tagore, who knows Bengali boys intimately through his experience in his school at Bolpur, assures us that natural aptitude for handwork exists among them. Give them the opportunity of developing it, he says, and they excel. Dr. Brajendranath Seal writes: "We Bengalis are backward in mechanical and manipulative dexterity (excepting, in part, our hereditary artisans), and it is not merely our brains and physiques that suffer. Our prospects of industrial advance as a people are bound up with our scientific education. A writ of 'Mandamus' is necessary to overcome the *non possumus* of our 'pure culture men.'" Given the necessary changes in methods of education, a large number of the boys would probably disclose an aptitude for constructive work, and nothing would be better for the economic interests of Bengal than that boys of the educated classes should feel less averse from callings which involve work with the hands.

In many of the colleges we have found laboratory workmen whose craftsmanship is excellent; and in charge of the workshop attached to the Department of Physics at the Hindu Academy, Daulatpur, we met a remarkable man,

who told us that after receiving a college education up to the first examination in arts, he gave up the thought of a clerical career in order to indulge his strong taste for mechanical pursuits. As the knowledge which he had acquired at school and college enabled him to read English, he bought a set of twenty-five old volumes of *The English Mechanic and World of Science*. This work served to provide him with a good foundation of mechanical knowledge and instructed him in the exercise of his natural skill. At the Hindu Academy we saw how valuable his work is not only in the laboratories, but in other ways. The college clock is his handiwork, and he has installed the college telephone. His work interests many of the college students, but we did not find that arrangements were made for their receiving any training in manual work under the direction of this skilled and intelligent mechanic. . . .

In several parts of the Presidency, and especially in Calcutta, we heard that many boys now show a strong interest in mechanics and in engineering, and have a good knowledge of the parts and running of petrol-driven engines through the rapidly extending use of motor cars. The fact that in Bengal a chauffeur can command (besides food and clothing) twice as large a wage as many clerks is a sign that some of the clerical callings are overcrowded and boys are naturally thinking of careers in which they may gain larger incomes than as subordinates using the pen. On the whole, the evidence points decisively against any idea that the Bengali boys have an innate aversion from the use of their hands in mechanical arts. If they had a more suitable training in their early years, many of them would develop a fair measure of manual skill, and would, in some cases, reveal an aptitude for constructive occupations like engineering. . . .

On another aspect of the physical side of the education of the student, one who well knows the Indian student has written : " He is notoriously careless of his health, but the fault is seldom wholly his own. The opportunities for recreation have generally come to him when he has already become a victim to a course of indolent inactivity." But

in attempting to judge the Indian student's capacity for physical development we should remember his skill in Indian games and in football, and how many young Indians have attained a high degree of proficiency in (and in some well-known cases have shown extraordinary aptitude for) games like cricket, racquets, and polo, which require quickness of eye and movement, balance, and swift decision. Among students in India public opinion does not set nearly so high a value as is set in England upon these kinds of athletic skill. Nor can the great majority of the boys afford the expense which many games entail. But if they paid more attention to their health and took more trouble about exercise, the students would be happier and more vigorous. The influence which military training and camp life can exercise upon their physical condition and morale was shown by the report of Brigadier-General Strange on the training of the Calcutta University Corps in the cold weather of 1917-18. The General wrote:—

"The men showed marked adaptability to military training, and they learnt their manual exercises with surprising rapidity. They displayed great steadiness in the ranks, and discipline was good. Their powers of endurance were not put to any great test, but they were marched to Belghuria for their musketry course, a march of eight miles, and successfully accomplished it. The standard of shooting was good, considering the lack of experience and the short time available for preliminary practice. The men promoted to temporary non-commissioned rank showed considerable ability and developed a good word of command. I consider these men show great promise.

"I was certainly surprised at the rapid progress made. They had British officers and British non-commissioned officers as instructors, with whom they got on excellently. They could not have made the same progress with Indian instructors. I think the most valuable lesson they learnt was discipline.

The handiness and practical resourcefulness of the Bengali boys would be increased by a further growth of the Boy Scout movement in the schools of the province. The boys take well to its interests and discipline. Mr. J. A. Kirkham, writing recently of the Bengali Scouts' Camp at Chandipur, of which he was in charge, reports that "the

...down to the discipline and conditions of camp life, and showed that they had caught the true Scout spirit. They were quick to obey, without question, always cheery and bright, and with an insatiable thirst for knowledge in scouting matters. Often I had a crowd of boys round me, plying me with question after question.

III

Turning now to the more complex and emotional characteristics of the Bengali student, we may select as pre-eminently significant and admirable his power of imaginative sympathy. By nature he is very sensitive—far more sensitive than some men of robuster temperament can readily understand. He is instantly aware of sympathy or of dislike, of welcome or of coldness, of approval or of blame. It has been said of him that “he is shy, reserved, self-centred in his interests, suspicious of a stranger, but eager to show gratitude for any kindness bestowed upon him, and long-suffering in the face of difficulties and of harsh surroundings.” What Wordsworth said of his own nature in youth is true in a very high degree of the Bengali boys. Each of them is “a sensitive being.” They are sensitive, and as a rule, diffident, but, in some cases (perhaps because their quick sympathetic perception is *en rapport* with states of mind and of knowledge *superior* than their own) tempted to form too favourable an estimate of their own attainments and powers. A Bengali student is likewise prone to quick discouragement, a discouragement the more acutely felt in reaction from an excess of self-confidence, and sometimes so overwhelming as to provoke despair. He is very sensitive to ridicule; he deeply resents sarcasm (especially from a teacher or other person in authority), and, unless he has been disciplined by the friendly criticism of seniors whose judgment he respects, is liable, like European boys of similar temperament, to show conceit, or at least, especially when challenged or rebuked, to adopt a manner of speaking and a tone which may wear the appearance of conceit, but are more truly

ascribed to the sting of a wound in self-esteem. These, however, are but the defects of his qualities. The Bengali student is affectionate; quickly responsive to kindness; happy when he can enter into the confidences of intimate friendship; a thoughtful host; naturally courteous and polite, though sometimes awkward through nervousness and at times not unnaturally oblivious of some of the conventional Western proprieties. He is tender in his loyalty to the memories of childhood and of kindred; but at the same time (and not seldom because of lack of discipline at home or from having been spoiled in childhood) apt to be self-willed and resentful of censure and punishment.

Around him, as he grows up, if he is born into a Hindu family of the older tradition, is the web of the obligations of the family life. To his father he stands in a relationship the sacredness of which is emphasised by religious duties which he knows that it may be at any time incumbent upon him to render in the hour of ultimate bereavement. If he belongs to an orthodox Brahmin family, he is subjected, not least under his mother's care, to strong religious influences, which colour his view of life and duty. However far below its ideal conception such a family system may have fallen or have been content to remain, it has in it more than the vestige of a noble doctrine of fellow-service, of otherworldliness, of renunciation.

If, on the other hand, it is his lot to grow up in a devout and educated Muslim home, he is surrounded from the first by the atmosphere of his religion.* From his mother he learns his duty towards God; with her he says his prayers; by her he is taught the duty of speaking the truth as a religious obligation. And, along with this and under the same religious sanction, he learns the duty of showing respect to his parents and teachers. The courteous manners

* In this paragraph we speak of the practice of a cultivated Muslim family. Where the mother is uneducated, the religious instruction is imparted by the *maulvi*. Down to the present time the great majority of Muslim homes in Eastern Bengal suffer from a defective culture largely due in part to poverty.

(an inheritance from Islamic culture) and the very shades of the language which he acquires from his earliest years teach him what reverence is due to the age and rank of those whom he is called upon to address.

Sensitiveness and quick response to emotion are characteristic of the Bengali student. But he possesses another quality, not unconnected with these. He has an innate sense for certain aspects of beauty, and, though the Bengali people has not the genius for the graphic arts which is possessed by the Umbrian and some of the Chinese, it is noteworthy that of the modern artists and poets in India, many have lived in Bengal. The gifted Bengali boy has, in his own language at any rate, a feeling for rhythm, for harmony, for the appropriate gesture which fits the word. Too little, indeed, is done in the course of his education, from infancy onwards, to foster these gifts. He has a gift for music, but a quasi-Puritanical tradition, unforgetful of the evil use to which songs and music have been put, bans music too indiscriminately from his early and later education. He is a clever actor, but (on account of old memories of the abuses of the stage and, among the Musalmans, in deference to religious tradition) little scope is given in the course of his school life to the dramatic instinct of which the Jesuit teachers were quick to detect the educational power.

And out of this sensitiveness, this capacity for emotion, this swiftness of emotional response, springs his imaginative sympathy. He enters very quickly into the state of mind of one whose experience and pre-suppositions are somewhat foreign to his own. Thus he has an affinity and natural liking for imaginative poetry. And it is significant that, in spite of what is unfamiliar or unintelligible to him in the metaphors which it draws from Western landscape and Western life, English imaginative poetry has been to many a Bengali student a fountain of inspiration. But sensitive as he is to currents of feeling and to new ideas, his power of direct observation of nature, and, indeed, of significant facts of any kind, is relatively weak and imperfectly trained. He has "the inward eye," but sees too

little with the outward eye. In him the eye of the mind is more developed than the eye of the body.

His imaginative sympathy is aided by linguistic capacity—a capacity which, of course, is not the prerogative of any one province in India. In no part of the continent of Europe are there so many men and women who speak the English language with faultless accuracy of authorised phrase as among the highly educated Indian community. In listening to long addresses by some of the great Indian lawyers and scholars, the most exacting critic would rarely detect an error even in expression. In the course of visits to the colleges affiliated to the University of Calcutta we have heard a very considerable number of lectures, but the errors in grammar could be counted upon the fingers of one hand. At the Victoria College, Cooch-Behar, we had the privilege of hearing a lecture upon the position of Sir Walter Scott in British fiction, a discourse so admirable in its structure, diction, and critical insight that it would have been received with applause by any company of European scholars. Though, among those who have not learnt the language direct from European lips, there are many signs of a lack of feeling for the rhythm of spoken English and of unfamiliarity with the tones and cadence of its pronunciation, and though in many cases a student is so ill at ease in English that he finds consecutive thought in it beyond his powers, and is often the victim to the mere jingle of a familiar phrase, nevertheless the mastery of the English tongue possessed by so large a number of educated Bengalis only fails to excite admiration because it has become familiar through everyday experience. A people must possess great linguistic capacity to have achieved such a high level of customary skill. Where else in the world but in India could so many writers have been found able to express their opinions through a foreign medium, with lucid ease (and in some cases with eloquence and high distinction of style), upon the intricate and many-sided problems raised in our questionnaire? After every allowance is made for the incentive to the study of English afforded by the administrative conditions and the com-

mercantile circumstances of India, this mastery of a foreign tongue gives proof of high linguistic power. And our appreciation of it is enhanced when we remember that the Muslim members of the Bengali people acquire, for religious and cultural reasons, some knowledge of other languages besides their vernacular and English; that, in addition to a working acquaintance with other Indian vernaculars, the educated Hindu has in his turn some knowledge of Sanskrit and, in rare cases, of Pali also; and that not infrequently both Hindu and Muslim scholars have studied the classical European languages as well as French and German.

During recent years many gifted writers in Bengal have excelled in their use of the vernacular, but it is felt that, in ordinary cases, this side of the Bengali's racial culture has suffered by the absorption of so much time and nervous energy in the necessary study and use of the English language. It is remarked that the study of the vernacular is in many cases perfunctory, and not carried to the point of scholarship or of flexibility of diction which is required for the finer kinds of literary expression.

Aptitude for number is one of the strongest points in the intellectual equipment of many Bengali students, who share this gift with their fellow-countrymen in other parts of India. Their skill in computation and in the symbolic operations of algebra shows that their natural sense of number is strong. On the other hand, their sense of time is defective. Even when things have happened before his eyes, a Bengali student is apt to be far out in his estimate of their duration in point of time. The unpunctuality in keeping engagements, which is often one of his noticeable characteristics, may very well be due to casualness, but vagueness about time has something to do with it. Even to-day there are traces of the vagueness about chronology which is found in the *Puranas*, with their vast and cloudy æons, cycles, and *yugas*.

Yet, prone as he is to slur over differences in points of time, the Bengali student has a brilliant capacity for drawing other kinds of distinction. This gift stands him in good

stead in the practice of the law, provided that in exercising it he does not indulge himself to the point of becoming tedious and unconvincing. Often in logic and metaphysics he shows a considerable power of acute analysis. He has also a love for abstraction and generalisation, a love sometimes displayed to excess, but springing from qualities of mind which might achieve grandeur of conception when playing upon rich masses of observed and assimilated fact.

For such assimilation of facts the Bengali student has excellent equipment, by reason of his quickly assimilative power. To any new ideas which appeal to his sympathies, to any new fashions of thought for which he feels affinity, his mind naturally and quickly adheres. First of all Indians, the Bengali appropriated Western learning. He has been, of all Indians, the quickest in adopting Western culture. And this quality of the Bengali's mind and temperament is connected with his power of imaginative sympathy. His quick sympathy gives him insight; his insight, the desire for assimilation. Dr. Brajendranath Seal records in his evidence the quickening of intellectual interests which he has observed among many of the University students during the last triennium. And we find that in Calcutta, as in London and Paris, the more eager minds among the undergraduates are now pre-occupied with those books in which are debated, whether in fiction or in philosophy, in poetry or in drama, the poignant issues of contemporary life.

Nevertheless, in any such sympathetic open-mindedness to new ideas and ideals there is a danger of instability. Vivid impressions may be over-washed by new impressions, not less vivid than those which went before. Thus the Bengali student's very gift of sympathy exposes him to the danger of instability of mind. He may feel in rapid succession new intellectual interests, new objects of desire, the attractions of new points of view, each in turn distractingly modified by that which follows. And it is perhaps to this trait in his temperament that is due his lack of endurance in working his way with stubborn, undeflected purpose through the granite of a difficult

subject. Of drudgery, indeed, he is capable, at times only too capable. No one who has heard him from an early hour reciting in tedious monotone and endless repetition the words which he has set himself to memorise for a difficult examination will think of the Bengali student as lacking in assiduity and patience. He is intensely diligent in those last feverish months of self-preparation. He displays powers of absorption and of unceasing, though rather mindless, toil. But these are very different powers from those exerted by a man who digs his way through the intractable mass of a difficult subject, applying at every stage in his progress all his mental power to the problem of the next advance.

IV

Something may be said here of the student's way of working at his tasks in school and college. It must be remembered that, except in homes which, though still rare, are happily becoming more common, he has had in his earliest years too little of the training which inculcates habitual self-discipline, cultivates the power of observation, enjoins the duties of regular exercise, and imparts a sense of personal responsibility for his conduct. At home, indeed, he has seen much to love and to revere. But he has missed some of the discipline of that kind of early education which is at once affectionate and strict. And then, in what might be the most formative stage in his young life, when his mind is open to new suggestions and to guidance, he is usually sent to a school which is far from answerable to his many and subtle needs. The majority of the vernacular teachers are untrained men, keeping the wolf from their door on a miserable stipend, and as a rule unaccustomed to take any strong interest in their individual pupils or to rise above a mechanical compliance with a dull tradition or with the requirements of the code. "During the first years of his school career," it has been said, "the Indian boy rarely owes anything to his teacher beyond receiving instruction in the code subjects. Of his early

teachers he rarely, in later years, remembers even the names." At the high school the uninspiring routine continues to run its course. There is little of individual stimulus, and practically none of the interests and discipline of corporate life. The course of study is narrow, the methods of teaching are perfunctory and dull. Too little is done, save by exceptional teachers, to rouse the boy's interests, to train his powers of observation, to impart to him the habit of independent study, to give him the first lessons of practical experience in managing the affairs which arise in the social life of any community, even in the community of a school. And as the shadow of the distant matriculation examination falls upon the boy, he may ask for, or be given, the help of private tutors, who coach him early or late at home. He gets into the habit of sitting over his books, at home and in school, for hours which would be incredibly long to a European boy. But he gets much less than he should get out of the time which he lavishes on his tasks. Too often, except in the walk to and from school, he gets little vigorous exercise, and hardly ever any all-round development of his body or timely care for its remediable defects. School life draws towards its close without having made any systematic improvement in his physique.

To this should be added the further disablement which the boy may suffer from the extreme poverty of his home. Education in Bengal often entails the utmost strain upon the family purse. Great sacrifices are made by parents who can ill afford it in order to send their boys to school or college. In many cases savings are exhausted in meeting this expense, and money is borrowed to defray the cost of what cannot, in the interests of the boy and his family, be forgone. As soon as the boy is old enough to become aware of the difficulty with which his school fees are afforded, he begins to feel the pressure of his parents' anxiety that he should succeed in attaining the purpose for which he has been sent to school. He is made to feel how much is expected of him; he begins to dread failure; he inclines naturally to the use of all the helps—whether

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private coaching or cram books or memorising of school texts—likely to increase his chances of success in the examinations upon which so much depends. Often disposed by his natural temperament to be morbid, sensitive to the anxieties and expectations of his family, the boy hates the idea of failure and dreads what he regards as its disgrace. But the educational system under which he grows up throws into high relief certain examinations. Over these fences he must leap, if he is to put his foot upon the highway of a respectable career. The certificates or the degrees which he may win are among the passports to social consideration. They will fix his status as an educated member of the community. They are the keys which open the doors to professional callings. And therefore can we wonder if, with home anxieties so often in the background, with parents counting upon his success, with his own prospects in marriage and in his future avocation depending so largely on the issue of his examination, and with his own sensitive self-esteem at stake, the boy is haunted by thoughts of the coming test, and if examinations loom menacingly large in his thoughts of the future and in his outlook on life?

Under such influences as these, it has been said by an experienced observer, "the Indian boy acquires at college a habit of excessive industry, but the craving for a degree outrides his thirst for knowledge. There is often a competition among students to find out who is the hardest worker among them, and that one is envied and respected who is reputed to be champion in this respect. He is usually too timid to play with those few of his colleagues who have already acquired some proficiency in games. At college therefore he reads for three hours in the early morning, attends four lectures, and after a mild walk of an hour and his evening meal, settles down for a further three hours of study before going to bed. Most of his reading is confined to his text-books. The Indian student's love of cram need not imply an innate aversion from acquiring sound knowledge. Far from it. It is due solely to his intense dread of his examinations, a dread which makes it

impossible for him to be more than he is. To pass his examination is the sole object of his activities during the year. Too often, Indian parents judge their sons by the results of their examinations, and woe to him who fails."

In the long hours during which a boy crams himself for an examination, it is not necessarily from any lack of natural ability that he turns himself into a parrot. What explains his method of procedure is an anxiously persistent endeavour to compass his end by the means which he believes to be the surest at his command. The end which he has in view is to pass his examination, because that is what is expected of him by his family and friends, and because success in it will help him forward on his way towards gaining admission to a coveted career.

If, along with better teaching and with careful training of his power of observation; if along with a richer and modernised course of study, which would give him a new outlook upon the world and the part which he might play in its service; if along with cultivation of manual skill and of the power of appreciating beauty in nature and in art as well as in human conduct and achievement—if, along with these things, the student in Bengal could do more of his high school course in his vernacular, and nevertheless get a better and more practical knowledge of English, the habit of mechanical memorising in preparation for examinations would in time become less general.

V

In a disposition so impressionable as that of the Bengali student, and so responsive to new ideas, with a mind which can skim quickly over the unfamiliar region of another's thought, and yet is housed in a body for whose vigorous health but little care is given, it is inevitable that there should sometimes be a pause of hesitation between insight and action, a maladjustment between knowledge and will. And thrown off his guard by the swift response of his nerves to an unexpected stimulus, the young man may on

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the instant show towards some rougher and more self-confident personality an outward deference which is no true expression of his inner nature. But though on such an occasion he may be momentarily and outwardly submissive, in the central and less accessible part of his nature assent and deference may be withheld. In the citadel of his more private feelings the Bengali remains unconvinced, brooding though seemingly subdued. Recovering from the shock of an assent which was involuntary rather than deliberate, he records his secret protest, and may nurse a sense of grievance and of humiliation at having, partly through his own fault and weakness, been defeated and misunderstood.

It is partly from a consciousness of this defect—a defect associated with his quality of imaginative sympathy—that he clings instinctively to the protective support of traditional and customary regulation, in the family, in the village community and in his caste. He knows that they uphold him by the steady pressure of their expectations and of their rules. At moments when he is threatened by weakness in his will their obligations will stiffen his wavering purpose. He relies, therefore, upon their sanction. In a communal responsibility his irresolute individuality is merged and fortified. And it is in consonance with this trait in his temperament that, under the dominion of a passionately-felt ideal, he is capable of devotion to a brotherhood, and of showing undaunted courage and endurance of pain. The Bengali may be for a time transformed under the spell of a political ideal. Under such an influence his timidity and instability may disappear. Thus in the movement of revolutionary nationalism, which had become publicly significant in 1906, impressionable students were attracted by the doctrines which invested nationalism with a religious tendency. These boys were taught by fanatics and unscrupulous men “to discount ordinary morality, to disbelieve in human intelligence, to despise anything that savoured of the materialism of Europe, and to seek inspiration from a Divine Energy, whereby they might prepare themselves to take part in a mighty struggle.” Hypnotised

by these ideas, which had their counterpart in the revolutionary propaganda in Europe, many boys and young men (among them some whose affectionate natures and imaginative minds had won the regard of their European and Indian teachers) were induced to believe that "foreign rule was *per se* bad for India, bad for the Hindu religion and Hindu manhood; that every effort should be made to get rid of the foreigners by fair means or foul; that emancipation could only be a gradual process, the result of a lengthy and arduous struggle; that, in spite of the weakness of their fellow-countrymen and their unfitness for such a struggle, the long agony would regenerate them; and that, though the struggle might be fruitless, it must, in any case, be undertaken. It would be a holy war." Under the mastery of this belief, these young men were lured into an "abominable propaganda which devoted its energy to assassinations of brave and loyal servants of Government and to dacoities committed on unguarded and helpless persons."

Yet, capable as he is of concerted effort under the duress of an idea, the Bengali student is judged by some of his fellow-countrymen who have made a lifelong study of his powers to be deficient in the capacity for complex co-ordination, whether in the sphere of thought or of action. These observers detect in him a certain degree of weakness in the grasp of complex factors, in their adjustment to one another, and in keeping them in equilibrium, be it in the study of a complicated intellectual problem or in the maintenance of an organisation. This defect is one of the impediments to the progress of the Bengali not only (though there are conspicuous exceptions) in the study of such subjects as sociology and economics, but also in complex industrial undertakings, in the wide but still too much neglected field of municipal enterprise, and in the responsible duties of commercial management upon a large scale. To find a cure for this defect, partly by means of changes in education, partly in other ways, is a most difficult problem. So far as the contribution of education is concerned, hardly anything would more help the Bengali student than further

opportunities of learning, both at school and college, the habit of co-operation with his fellows through the manifold interests and responsibilities of a well-ordered corporate life. But there would also be required changes in methods of teaching and more independent study under the guidance of experienced teachers, so as to strengthen a boy's power of grappling with questions in which many factors have to be weighed in the balance of judgment and then applied.

VI

We now turn to an even deeper cause of the unsettlement which is affecting the minds of many Indian students and is reflected in educational discussions in Bengal.

It is through the contact between Indian culture and that of the outer world, and especially the culture of Europe and the West, that painful dilemmas are created in the mind of the thoughtful student of Bengal. He feels the eddying current of Western thought, which is forcing its way, in some degree unseen, into the quiet waters of his traditional life. The current brings with it an unfamiliar, but vigorous and agitating, literature; a mass of political formulas, charged with feeling and aspiration, and sometimes deceptively simple in their convenient generalisation; fragments of philosophies; some poisonous weeds of moral scepticism; bright-hued theories of reform; the flotsam and jetsam of a revolutionary age. The young man's necessary study of English has given him the power of reading what the intruding stream brings with it. His own instinctive yearnings for social reform, for intellectual enlightenment, and for moral certainty make him eager for fresh truth. And behind this new foreign literature and philosophy, behind the pressure of those invisible influences for which printed books and journals are but some of the conduits of communication, there stands the great authority of colossal Power: Power evinced in political achievement, in religious conviction, in the world-wide ramifications of commerce, in stupendous industrialism, in the startling

triumphs of applied science, in immeasurable resources of wealth; Power which, even under the strain of a titanic struggle, puts out new manifestations of energy and suffers no eclipse.

These influences fix upon his thoughts and bind them by their fascination. And yet, admire them as he may, he feels by instinct that in them evil is mixed with good. By instinct also he knows that in part they are alien to his own racial tradition, and that, while some are ameliorative to it, others are baneful. But it is beyond his strength to disentangle what will help from what will hurt his country and his individual life. He is over-mastered by the force of the new stream, and finds that even the backwaters of Indian life are invaded by its waters. Not a student in Bengal or elsewhere in India can be wholly insensible to some of the influences of Western thought and experience, though he may not be conscious of their significance to him and to his country, and, even if conscious of it, may not be able to express his feeling in words. Some, however, of the students are aware of the tension in their thoughts and ideals which is caused by the twofold appeal of Western influence and of Indian tradition. . . .

We have received from a young Indian correspondent, Mr. Amarnath Mazumdar, a description of an orthodox Hindu home in Bengal as modified under the influence of Western education :—

“The majority of students who flock to the schools and colleges belong to the orthodox middle classes. Most of these families still live in the villages. Since the introduction of English education, however, there has been a regular influx of the *bhadralok* classes towards the metropolis, or to one or other of the mufassal towns. They have been attracted thither by the new openings created by the British administrative machinery, so that people who were in the past content to live and die within the surroundings of their own village have, in order to share the lights of the metropolis, transformed themselves into an urban society, which is composed of lawyers, doctors, engineers, school-masters, clerks, and officials. Many of these, however, have not yet cut off all ties with their original village homes. The temporary house in town is called *basha*, the word *bari* (home) being confined to the ancestral home in the village. It is in the latter (unless economic considerations stand in the way) that

marriages, *śradhs* (ceremonial offerings to the dead), and other family rites are preferably celebrated; it is there that the holidays are spent; it is there that the family gods are enshrined and worshipped throughout the year. Economic considerations and the difficulties of communication are, however, effecting a change here also. There is an increasing tendency to cut off all ties with the village, and to convert the town residence into a new home. Even in these cases, however, there persists a sentimental tie with the old village.

"A typical Hindu home is a composite structure. At the head there is very often the old grandfather or grandmother. Then there are the sons of the house, who are the earning members of the family. The grandfather continues to be the head of the family, although he may have ceased to earn; and to the son, marriage or settling down in life gives rise to no question of his leaving his parental home. Even when the exigencies of livelihood require a man to spend the greater part of the year away from the central home, he invariably returns to it during holidays. He regards himself as belonging to the same parental home and contributes to the joint income of the family.

"The grandfather and the grandmother represent the primitive orthodox tradition. The traditional honour of the family is one of their main concerns. It lies with them to see that the traditional ideas of purity, decency, and propriety are kept intact. But it would be a mistake to think that austerity or severity is one of their prominent characteristics. If the grandson in his childhood receives any indulgence, it is generally from the grandfather or grandmother. There is a certain reserve and severe reticence in the relation of the parent to the son. But a perfect freedom and affectionate indulgence and unreserved confidence characterise the relations of the grandfather or the granny to the grandchild. She especially is very often the confidante of the grandson, and acts as mediator and intercessor between parent and child. But this liberalism on the part of the grandparents is within the bounds of their orthodoxy. The grandsire's twofold functions of 'head of the family' and 'comrade of the grandchild' are well indicated in the two appellations given to him—*karta* (supreme or head) and *thakurdada* (lit. 'godbrother'). From this it comes about that the grandparent often has a much greater influence on the grandchild's mind than have the parents. These old people, comparatively free from the cares and toils of active life, have plenty of leisure; this they devote to the children, to the practice of piety, and to a study of the Scriptures. In most cases the rigour of the orthodox tradition is, however unconsciously, tempered in them, through the affectionate indulgence which they feel towards the younger generation as also by their shrewd sense of affairs. They refrain from forcing on the younger members of the family practices and observances to which they themselves would strictly adhere. Very often they display a willingness to concede to the younger generation liberty to live the new life, so far as that is inevitable, provided always that it does not militate violently against their most dearly cherished ideas.

"The father of the family belongs in most cases to one of the learned professions or to the machinery of administration. He has had his education in English schools and colleges. Perhaps in his youth the intoxication of the new culture threw him off his balance and drew him into the ranks of social or religious revolutionaries. But since those days he has married and has settled down in life. He has had children, and has had his real experience of life. This experience, and the suitable income he derives from his occupation, have sobered him down. His actual experience of life has led him to doubt the dark and livid picture of caste and superstition, which was painted by the reforming imagination of his youth. He has come into touch with the humanity and neighbourliness and serene spirituality which underlie the crust of Hindu ritual and ceremony. And in this he has been confirmed perhaps by the writers of the new Hindu school, who have begun an appreciative study of Hindu life and culture in the light of the newly developed thought. Or, if he has not come under these influences, he leads a twofold life—namely, his intellectual life, which is fed by memories of Byron and Shelley, of Mill, Macaulay, and Huxley; and his family life, fed by domestic affections and protected from external shocks by an indulgent and amused compliance with the forms and rigours of the old social order. In either case, however, the intellectual influence exerted by the father on the son is not very considerable. The father's real preoccupation is the earning of his livelihood and the economic management of the household. What intellectual life he has is seldom shared with the son, because of the habitual reticence and reserve which characterise their mutual relations. There are, of course, numerous exceptions to this. But I am speaking of the average family, and especially of one living close to the town.

"The son is a student at college. His one ambition in life is to take his father's place as the earning member of the household. This domestic outlook governs all his studies. Education leads to a degree, and the degree leads to a livelihood. Naturally his studies are regulated in such a way as to fit him for the examination. In his mind there is very little of genuine enthusiasm for the wider bearings of his University studies. But he is not in every case devoid of intellectual interests. Perhaps it may be that he has come under the influence of the new poetry of Bengal. This interest in Bengali literature may be the only real intellectual element in his life. When he reads the works of Bengali poets, he reads them as poetry. But when he reads Milton, he is generally thinking of his examination. What genuine interest he has in English literature is really reflected from his study of Bengali poetry. As regards the other subjects in his curriculum, whether it be history or politics or economics or philosophy, he has no conception of these studies from the standpoint of his own national life. He has not the citizen's outlook. His outlook is exclusively domestic. There is very little of original thinking among such men as he. His thinking is done for him by the newspapers and by the Bengali maga-

since. He lives in a students' mess or hostel in Calcutta, gets used to a smarter style of living than he has been used to in his home, and shares with his elder fellow-students the political and nationalistic aspirations which fill the atmosphere. But his aspirations do not include any severe discipline of the intellect. His mind has not grasped the importance of the severe, devoted application of the mind to different branches of study or how indispensable such application is to success in the task of nation-building. During the last ten years the younger minds in Bengal are turning to a study of the latest developments of Western thought, to Russian fiction, Scandinavian drama, and among English writers to H. G. Wells and Bernard Shaw. Up to the present time, however, this new heaven of thought and feeling has been at work in but a very restricted field. The effect of it has been, as yet, that of a challenge or of a dazzling light. The young mind of Bengal has not yet been able to grasp the new issues, but there is a genuine groping for light. His interest and attention are, however, attracted by some of the latest developments in Indian social movements. These are :—

- (1) The movements for the elevation of the depressed classes.
- (2) The movement in favour of foreign travel.
- (3) The movement for the redress of crying social abuses—such as the marriage dowry system.
- (4) The movement for the appreciation and revival of ancient Indian achievement in the fields of religion, of social organisation, of art, and of literature.

“The new ideas with which at the coming of the college holidays the student returns to his home do not cause any serious conflict in the family circle. Even in the most orthodox Indian minds there is a toleration for all shades of thought. It is in the field of practice or observance, especially in the matter of prohibitions, that strictness is demanded and enforced. You may *think* as you like; but you must not eat the forbidden flesh of cows and pigs; you must not eat food cooked by a man of lower caste; you must not marry outside your caste; you must not take out your women-folk to mix in male society; you must abide by such restrictions, in so far as they are established and correct, until you attain the highest stage of the doctrine. Otherwise you come to grief.

“But, though the atmosphere of large tolerance and affection which pervades the Hindu home has averted any serious conflict between the young generation and its elders within the family circle, there has certainly been a divergence of ideas. An intellectual crisis has been reached; and only a very careful and sympathetic handling of the education of the country can reconcile the elements of progress with the healthy features of the old order. The original Indian culture and civilisation have elements of stability and of permanence which ought to contribute to the richness and variety of human civilisation. And the education of the Indian youth cannot afford to neglect them.”

This picture is different in some significant respects from that drawn by the late Sir George Birdwood, who, with reference to a time when the pendulum had swung to its extreme limit of "Westernism," spoke of modern education in India as having "destroyed in Indians the love of their own literature, the quickening soul of a people, their delight in their own arts and, worst of all, their repose in their own traditional and national religion," as having "disgusted them with their own homes, their parents and sisters, their very wives," and as having "brought discontent into every family so far as its baneful influences have reached." Our own view is that modern education has been but one of the channels, though admittedly a principal channel, through which the influences of the West have penetrated into India; that such penetration was in any case inevitable; that modern education, whatever its defects, met a need which was keenly felt by the Indians themselves; that it is indispensable to India if she is to achieve an inner unity and take her rightful place among the peoples of the world; that its results, though not free from grave dangers or even from actual mischief, have on the whole been highly beneficial; and that, though unavoidably producing some tension of mind and spirit, and even leading in some cases to what Sir John Woodroffe describes as "a paralysing inner conflict," it has in the main prepared the way for a culture which will harmonise with and supplement the national culture, and will stimulate the latter into new manifestations and achievements.

The Bengali student, like many a student in other lands, feels upon his mind the pull of two loyalties—the loyalty to the old order and the loyalty to the new. But in his case the difficulty of combining these two loyalties is very great. Each loyalty needs fuller and clearer definition to him. He finds it hard to light upon any real adjustment between them. Therefore it is often his fate to lead what is in effect a double intellectual life. He is two-minded, and lives a parallel life in the atmosphere of two cultures. He too, as a great administrator from Europe said of his own life in India, has to keep his watch set for two longi-

tudes, and, indeed, for more than two longitudes. It is not only with Calcutta and London, but with New York, Chicago, and Tokyo that the intelligent young Bengali has to keep in time.

Of considerable importance in this connection is the new movement for social service which is spreading in Bengal. Several of our witnesses, including Mr. Hira Lal Roy, Dr. Brajendranath Seal, and Dr. D. N. Maitra, emphasise the value of this work in school and college education.* Apart from its direct service to the poorer classes in the community, it has educational power in character-building. It cultivates the sympathies. It trains the power of observation. It enhances the sense of moral responsibility. It directs attention to the problems of local government. It emphasises the duty of disinterested municipal enterprise.† It teaches, by direct experience, that

"Mercy has a human heart, Pity a human face."

And it revives the old Indian sense of social obligation in such a way as to link with it a readiness to use modern science and methods of prevention for the welfare of the community and the betterment of the race. It is possible that, under influences like those of social service, the Bengali student may come to find some deeper harmony between the old Indian tradition and the new industrial order of our days.

The main characteristic of the ancient Hindu society was a vast number of the Muslim homes among the lower classes in Bengal have absorbed the colour of Hindu ideas) was not aristocracy nor democracy nor

* We may instance the social work which is being done by students of St. Paul's Cathedral College, Calcutta, and specially among leather workers, of the college.

† In this connection, reference should be made to town-planning which have been made in Dacca, Indore, and elsewhere. The Government of India derives much of its stimulus and energy into the relationship between education and social duty and into the social and economic

a communal organisation of households. It did not disregard the need for, or the social value of, the institution of private property. But it limited the rights and range of private ownership, not by legal enactment so much as by the pressure of social custom. Its characteristic was (at least in the narrowly legalistic sense of the words) neither purely status nor contract, but obligation under the guise of social authority. How far the dictates of such obligation were in practice reciprocally fulfilled, how far evaded or by casuistry explained away, the historian of ancient India must determine. But the ideal of that ancient polity is not obscure. It was to combine (for the upper castes), in due measure and balance, the rights of the individual and the rights of the community, and to transmute economic relationships (once again within the narrow limits of the twice-born) into the bonds of moral and neighbourly obligation.

In Europe, along with the breakdown of the mediæval system, and under the influence of the thinkers of the Renaissance, there was an increasing accentuation of individual rights. In the surge of new political ideals and of revolt from the older religious allegiance (though not from its teaching of social duty), in the outthrust of economic ambitions and of commercial adventure, individual self-realisation (along with the discharge of duty to the State) became an ideal of life, individual enterprise a conspicuous virtue, individual ownership a vitally necessary and almost sacred institution. And in Britain, where factory production first developed industrialism on a vast scale and gave new stimulus to activities of foreign trade, the age of Industrial Revolution coincided, not accidentally, with a phase of political thought which minimised the authoritative powers of the Central Government of the State. "*Laissez faire*" and "No State Interference with Industry" became the watchwords of a school of economists and politicians, whose teaching was not more than half the truth.

At the time when European ideas first broke with full force upon India, the new thought and enterprise of the

West were self-confident with individualism. And to the West, the traditions and social organisation of India wore the appearance—not exclusively, but with undue neglect of her philosophy and of the inner spirit of her ancient polity—of an unprogressive, if not stagnant, community held fast in the bonds of Status and of Caste. In the main, each presented to the other its less attractive side. That West to East and East to West had each a message was for the time obscure, except to thinkers of rare insight and discernment.

At the present time, however, a growing number of the younger minds in India feel the need of industrial enterprise, and of individual freedom from what they judge to be obsolete restraints. And, simultaneously, an ever-growing body of opinion in the West seeks to set further limits upon individual profit-making and, so far as the circumstances of each great department of production and distribution allow, to supplement, if not to supersede, private profit by collective control. Each tendency is conditioned by the need for safeguarding the play of its corrective opposite. But this drawing together of East and West towards a central point of balance between communal organisation and free scope for individual enterprise suggests the possibility of a synthesis, in regard to the structure and maintenance of which East and West may learn each from the other's experience.

If this be so, the significance of some of the present currents in Indian educational opinion becomes clearer. Those currents seem at first sight to be running in opposite directions. One is setting towards changes in education which will give more self-reliance, impart more vigour to individual initiative, and furnish a training of the hand and mind which will fit the younger generation for industrial enterprise and for a more industrialised agriculture. But another, and in some respects an apparently opposite, current of opinion inclines towards extended Government action in industry and commerce; towards the creation, therefore, of new cadres of Government service; and consequently towards increased facilities for getting the

type of education which will qualify young men for Government posts. With the first of these two tendencies in public opinion goes an eager demand for widely extended primary education, with the object of raising the standard of mental efficiency among the masses of the people, out of whose ranks will rise, if aided by abundant opportunities of higher education, men of grit and power, competent to take their place among the vigorous leaders of the new industry. But with the second tendency goes a feeling of some alarm at the danger of any sudden extension of primary education among the masses of the Indian people; a conservative disposition towards existing methods of higher education (a disposition modified by willingness to add technology and agriculture to the list of university studies), and a distinct, though rarely expressed, reluctance so to throw open the avenues of access to higher education as to impair the preferential advantages enjoyed by the sons of the already educated classes.

Yet between these two conflicting shades of opinion harmony is possible if India is moving neither towards a régime of individual enterprise alone nor alone towards a régime of Governmental monopoly in industry and commerce; if it is in some juxtaposition of these two forces, and in some reciprocal and guarded relation between them, that the way for India's economic advancement will be found. In such an event, a general system of primary education, if it were wisely adapted to the real needs of life and livelihood, and were not merely thrown like an explosive into the vast magazine of Indian life, might be welcomed without reserve, because such a system would enhance the productivity of labour, would increase its mobility, and would give to the children of the poor wholly new opportunities for advancement and for the full development of their natural powers. And the sons of the middle- and professional classes, gaining on their part new vigour and initiative from better teaching and more inspiring influences in school and college, would find the freshly opened fields of employment so wide that they themselves would not suffer, but would rather gain, from the intel-

lectual competition forced upon them by increasing numbers of students rising from a humbler class.

VII

Though in the vast majority of cases distinct from that of their brothers and of their husbands, the education of girls in Bengal affects the moral and intellectual atmosphere of the homes in which the young people of both sexes live together.

The evidence of two witnesses should be quoted here, because both of them have had experience in teaching boys and girls at college and elsewhere, and one of the two has had exceptional opportunities of judging the quality of the work done by girls in the Calcutta University matriculation examination. Dr. Adityanath Mukerjee, writing from some years' personal experience on the staff of a women's college, records his opinion that "as regards intellectual ability and power of grasp, the girls of Bengal are not inferior to the boys." Dr. Brajendranath Seal confirms this judgment, but in greater detail. He has found the work done by girls in matriculation and other Calcutta University examinations as good in quality as that of the work done by boys, but in some respects different. Allowing in the case of both sexes for candidates of exceptional ability whose work has individual merits from which it would be erroneous to generalise, he regards the written English style of the girls as the better and the more direct in expression—the difference being so marked that, without knowing the names of the candidates or having any other clue to their sex, he believes that he could pick out the answers written by girls from a mixed bundle of examination scripts. But he finds that a girl's work shows signs of her being more dependent than a boy upon what the teacher has said, except in regard to any point in which her personal taste or judgment happens to have been touched. In that case, the girl shows independence of opinion as well as of expression. Reviewing the whole of his experience he thinks, so far as the numbers of candidates whose work

has come before him justify a general conclusion, that in intellectual calibre at the matriculation stage the girls are equal to the boys, though in some respects different in the quality of their minds.

Apart from the teaching which is given privately to the *pardabnashin*, whether among the Musalmans or the Hindus, the school-life of Indian girls in Bengal, except in the case of the daughters of families connected with the Brahmo Samaj, ends in about the fourteenth year, if not before. But, though the school-life of these girls may be short, they receive in other ways and through other kinds of discipline a training which is often very strict. Severe indeed is the moral and spiritual discipline which many a Bengali girl receives from the elder women in the home of her husband during the first years of her married life. And that discipline, though very unlike what a European girl undergoes during the same years of youth, has a deliberate purpose. It is intended to produce (so far as variations of individual temperament may allow) adaptation to an ideal of life, conformity with a type which is honoured by tradition, and acceptance of certain canons of conduct which ancient usage prescribes. Such a discipline, though it does not comprise many of the intellectual factors which modern European standards pre-suppose, is nevertheless a purposeful education. Whatever our view of the ideal at which it aims, and in whatsoever degree it may be exposed to the dangers of harshness when administered without careful and tender regard to the sensibilities and physical immaturity of the girl, we are not entitled to withhold from it recognition as being in fact and in its way a deliberate kind of training. It is an education of the old pattern—a domestic or workshop training for the discharge of certain functions or for the practice of an art.

One of its purposes is to train a woman in the art of household management. In this art, under the difficult conditions imposed by the joint family system, and not seldom by restricted means, the Hindu woman frequently attains to a high degree of skill, tact, and resource. In fact, her abilities (as is shown by history as well as by the

experience of to-day) find congenial tasks in the sphere of administration. There is a striking type of Hindu woman, racy with mother-wit, whose strong will and character impress themselves much more vigorously upon the family life than outside observers would imagine.

The Bengali girl has an instinct for order and for neatness. She has natural grace of bearing, deftness of hand, simplicity in taste. If she has been taught to make on the floor the traditional designs (*alipana*) in rice or flour, her hand is often skilful in drawing patterns, and the weaving of necklaces of beads (*puntbis*) or garlands of flowers (*malas*) has quickened her sense of colour. For music, as a rule, she has no exceptional gift. Her verbal memory is good, generally better than a boy's. She matures a little earlier than he does, and sooner reaches the stage of arrest. She has perhaps a little more marked individuality than he, in the earlier years of her education. As a rule she is more plodding than he is, and more apt to drudge. . . .

Three instincts and powers show themselves with significant beauty in the nature of the Indian girl. From an early age she discloses in very marked degree the instinct of motherhood. This natural disposition is strengthened and evoked by the spoken teaching and by the silent assumptions of the Hindu home in which she is born. The mystical aspect of life is very sacred to the Hindu soul. Reverence for what is symbolised by the life of husband and of child is central in a devout Hindu woman's conception of duty. Lying behind its earthly manifestation, and yet inseparably merged in it, is a divine principle, of which she prays that she may be a channel, and in the service of which pain is at times transmuted into ecstasy, anguish into joy. Hers is the duty of the life-bringer. In her worship of a divine mystery, instinct is transfigured into faith, self-will is conquered by devotion, personality is uplifted by submission.

Thus in the Indian girl's nature the instinct of motherhood is linked with another power, a sense of religion. By religion, in a devout Hindu home, every act of a good woman's day is ruled.

"Every milestone on the journey of herself or her children is a religious milestone. She knows no other division of the days and months and years as they pass by." *

"Even the ordinary business of the day—bathing, dressing, eating—is a religious act. The Hindu woman recognises no claims but those of religion. Her worship of the gods, of her husband, of her children, they are all part of her religion, and they make her life. Her husband has brought God close to her. She is created to serve him with all her powers of mind and body. The habit of her life is expressive of her relationship. The day is planned round his needs. She brings water to wash his feet, cooks for him, anticipates his smallest want while he eats. At his hand she holds her life." †

In her home-service the devout Hindu wife is true as steel, asking for no recognition, selfless and constant to the end. Hers is not the will to power, but the will to submission, a submission courageously self-enforced, and bringing with it a spiritual power of service and of insight.

"In her are thoughts akin to the mysticism of Christian saints, selflessness that transcends experience. In her quiet life she gives the ministry of prayer and *puja* and sacrifice, fasting while she prays." ‡

And this brings us to the third chief instinct of the devout Indian girl—her power to idealise. She can invest an object, in itself simple and humble, with a mystic significance, and in the symbol sees the unseen. Through the visible, her eyes and soul discern the invisible. And at last, through self-curtailment and discipline, she may attain to the power of entering, in moments of intense feeling, beyond the entanglements of distracting thoughts, into a peace which passes understanding.

It is believed by many Hindus that some of the tendencies and preoccupations of modern school and college education jeopardise those of their daughters' gifts and qualities. They think that some of the pre-suppositions of a Westernised training clash with their ideals of wifely devotion. Other objects of interest, other aims (such as passing an

* *The Purdahmashin*, by Cornelia Sorabji (Calcutta : Thacker, Spink & Co., 1917), p. 42.

† *Between the Twilights, being Studies of Indian Women by One of Themselves*, by Cornelia Sorabji (London ; Harpers, 1908), pp. 32, 120.

‡ *The Purdahmashin*, pp. 16, 21.

examination), would, they think, be interposed by it in such a way as to deflect a girl's thoughts from preparation for the wifely duties which the older views of a woman's calling impose. The subtle influences of another environment would, it is suggested, counterwork the influences of the home. The strain of submitting during every day to the two very different disciplines and demands of a Hindu home and of a Europeanised school might, it is feared, impair a girl's physique. Corresponding doubts and hesitations were expressed by several of our Muslim witnesses with regard to the education of their daughters.

It is alleged, indeed, that, in the case of many girls, the results of the more Europeanised type of education of girls in Bengal have hitherto achieved neither what is best in the Hindu or Muslim ideals nor what is enviable in the European. A Hindu correspondent, while not forgetting how admirable have been effects of such an education in many instances, thus describes one of its failures or misfits :—

"The young woman has perhaps a smattering of Bengali, which enables her to read books, but generally she has neither the wide folk-culture nor the sacred lore of her grandmother. The result is a sentimental type of femininity, more or less averse to the cares and occupation of the household, and with a strong individualistic tendency that menaces the break-up of the family group. The newest fashions in dress and ornament engross her attention. With her poorer and narrower culture and with her selfish individualistic propensities, the young girl forms a disruptive influence in the family. The proper education of these girls is the most serious problem that confronts the educationist. The claims of the old ideal of the home have to be reconciled to those of the modern outlook."

Yet the messengers of a new age are knocking at the door of girls' education, as at that of boys', in modern India, and not least in Bengal. More penetrating than words written or spoken is the spirit of the time. And that spirit challenges many traditional submissions, awakens new longings after self-realisation, tears off the mask of authority which is worn by some ancient traditions, and sends a current of disquiet and unrest even into the recesses

of the home. Aroused by such a challenge, conservatism shows itself in self-defence the more conservative. And, in retort, innovation wears its most defiant look. The current, which in some natures stimulates individualism, may for a time polarise old and new ideas in the sphere of women's education in Bengal. But there are signs of a desire for some adjustment between the new ideals and the old, and for some accommodation between what the West offers and what the East can teach.

For example, one of our younger witnesses, Mr. N. N. Dey of Calcutta, speaking of the trend of opinion among his contemporaries in Bengal, tells us that the desire that girls should enjoy further educational opportunities is already strong, and will, in his judgment, rapidly grow. "Many young men feel that the happiness of their future life is jeopardised by any deep gulf between the intellectual interests of men and women, and that under modern conditions of thought and feeling domestic sympathies are in danger of estrangement when husband and wife live on two very different planes of culture." He has noticed among young men a growing wish that marriages should be contracted at a maturer age than is at present the general rule.

It is evident from this and similar testimony that the question of the education of girls is pressing for a wise solution. More than this, the issue is a crucial one in the mental and spiritual crisis which now affects India and, in a high degree, Bengal. The approach to the problem lies through sympathy—sympathy alike with those who, deeply imbued with loyalty to the older rules of a woman's duty, dread the results of any inconsiderate tampering with its foundations, and with those others who are convinced that the widening and deepening of the education of men calls for a widening and deepening in the education of women also.

It may be well at this point to describe the daily routine in the home of a Hindu family residing in a town. The following account has been written by Mr. Amarnath Mazumdar :—

"The mistress of the house rises early in the morning, and after the daily wash puts on a rough silk '*sari*,' in which she performs her daily worship. This done she settles down to the work of the kitchen. The children in the meanwhile have risen from their beds, and are given their morning lunch, which consists of light food, such as the humble '*muri*' (fried rice) or the richer '*luchi*' (cakes of flour fried in *ghoi*). At about ten the students and the officials in the family have their principal meal, consisting of rice, curry, and fish. The rest of the family dine a little later, and food is taken last of all by the elderly women, of whom the widows never take more than one meal in a day, which invariably excludes fish and meat. After mid-day there is a period of rest. Some of the women enjoy a nap, while others talk among themselves, or with any neighbours that may turn in. Sometimes the elder women, especially the widows, will ask some one of the younger members, boys, or girls, to read to them portions from the Bengali *Ramayan* or *Mahabharat* (sacred books), or, if it be a 'Vaishnava' family, from the metrical lives of Chaitanya, the great mediæval saint. At about three there are preparations for the afternoon meal—the boys will return from school, the men from office. The afternoon meal is of the same character as the morning one, unless there is tea in addition in some families. The young men go out for a walk, or to the playground, the elder males enjoy their smoke and the pleasures of conversation with neighbours and friends in the outer verandah or *baitakhana*, and the women busy themselves in preparations for the evening meal. In the evening very often the elderly ladies take their rosaries and say their prayers. The evening meal consists of '*luchi*' or *ruti* (fried bread), or rice and curry. It is generally served between 8 and 9 p.m., and the whole family retires to bed by about ten o'clock."

Were no changes whatever to be made in the training of girls, inevitable developments in the education of boys and young men would affect the spirit and the atmosphere of such a home as is described above. Year by year the intellectual gap between the men and women in the home would widen. An increasing number among the younger generation of men are sorry that modern ideas about the care of little children and their education during early years are so little known to their wives and to the women members of their household. They realise how much of health and happiness is lost through obsolete notions of sick-nursing and hygiene, and how unnecessarily the young mother often suffers because she and the older women who watch over her in the crises of her life have not gained by education the power of discriminating between a faulty

tradition and common sense. It will be a good thing if wise changes in the education of women bring about closer intellectual companionship between wife and husband without injury to those most precious of all the attributes of the good Indian woman, her selfless devotion and her sense of religious duty.

In a novel * recently written by Mr. Birendra Kumar Datta, a graduate of Calcutta University, a picture is drawn of the contrasted types of character and of ideals of life found in contemporary Bengal among those of the educated classes who feel the moral, intellectual, and social perturbations of the present time. The author does not fail to show what part may be played in an epoch of perplexing transitions by the serene and unselfish spirit of a Bengali girl, though he himself appeals earnestly for "the total abolition of caste, of the accumulated prejudices and superstitions of ages, of unnecessary rituals and ceremonials, and advocates universal education, widow-remarriage, the emancipation of women and of the depressed classes, and for free thought and the spirit of scientific inquiry as opposed to mere tradition and authority."

But it is not only of the average girl that reformers think in their plans for an enriched and more inspiring education for women. They remember also the needs of the exceptional girl, the girl of unusual powers of mind and of unusual capacity for serving her country in the liberal professions of medicine, education and social administration. Of such girls, there are not a few in contemporary Bengal. And they come in the line of a great succession of noble-minded and able Indian women. Many auguries portend the success of higher education for women in India if the right formula or formulas can be found for their education.

For, in India, there has been a continuous, though slender, succession of women eminent among their contemporaries for their powers of mind, insight, and judgment. As in Europe, so in India, some women have been illustrious in rule and in administration, whether on the

* *Prabelika* (the Riddle) (Gurudas Chatterji & Sons, Calcutta). See the review in *The Modern Review* (Calcutta), September 1917, p. 322.

throne or in the government of their estates. The Hindu and the Muslim law recognised the right of wives to hold property independently of their husbands, long before the English law secured to married women the exercise of such a right, and even before the practice of marriage settlements gave its substance to many of them. From time immemorial widows, as well among Musalmans as among Hindus, have held property of great value and extent, both in lands and in personal estate. And though in the majority of cases they may have relied in the management of their property upon the advice of agents and stewards, there have been among these propertied Indian women not a few examples of conspicuous sagacity and wisdom in the responsible conduct of intricate affairs.

For many of the women of India the highest training which a University can offer will not be inappropriate, or the most difficult studies too exacting. During the last thirty years there have been in Bengal women writers of distinction and power, especially in poetry and in the imaginative interpretation of life. Far more characteristic, however, of the Indian temperament and tradition have been her holy women, in whose personalities and gifts we recognise the same spiritual discernment, self-abnegation, and shrewd common sense which mark many others whose influence is profound in the home-life of India, though never known beyond the narrow limits of their family.

Of one such holy woman, who was known by many still living, this portrait has been drawn by a skilful hand :—

“At her birth, so many years ago that her devotees bring data to prove her a hundred years old, it was prophesied that she would be ‘a religious,’ and her father built her a shrine and taught her things which only priests may know. Her face was the face of one who has attained, and her dignity and self-poise I have nowhere seen surpassed. She dressed oddly—the sex of the devotee must not be proclaimed—in the nether garments of a man, *i.e.* loose white drapery about the legs, and a long coat. Her hair was worn in coils on the top of her head, and round her neck hung sacred beads, and a Kali necklet of skulls in gold and enamel work. To her the symbol was not gruesome. Kali, she would tell you, was the power of God, the ‘Energy of the Gods,’ and the heads represent the giants of wickedness whom she has slain.

“She was extraordinary in her dealings with people, quick to discern

true from false, fearless in her denunciation of hypocrisy, withal that she was never aught but courteous. Pilgrims from all parts of India came and fell at her feet and passed on to other shrines, or lingered in the outer courtyard on the chance of a word; the meaning of a text, some family or caste difficulty, advice as to the moment's physical or worldly need—all were brought her; for she shut out nothing, and was a shrewd saint about business other than her own. I have known her wave off a pilgrim—'she would not insult her feet,' was the reason given. She seemed to gather all that mattered about this type of person in a single glance. To one who came in curiosity pure and simple, though he pretended interest in some Sanskrit text, she said, quietly looking him in the eyes while he stumbled over his untruths: 'No, you shall not hear whence I came, nor anything about me.' But to another more sincere, though equally curious, she said, 'I come from a land where women ride and men wage war.'

"In 1857 she was already a famous Sanskrit scholar, so powerful that her influence, purely religious, was mistaken for political. . . . When the country settled down, she wandered to the different places of pilgrimage all over India, meditating and buying merit. Everywhere had she been, everywhere that is holy, and as an old woman, eyes dim with prayer, throat drawn with fasting, she settled in Bengal and devoted herself to the religious education of her community. 'I have spent a lifetime in prayer; now I am ready to work.' But the praying was not over.

"From five to nine of a morning she shut herself away in her House of Gods, and no one dared disturb her. . . . Not one of her devotees or friends had any knowledge of what was within her House of Gods, yet all alike, alien in faith, disciple or visiting devotee saw her face as she left that house after her communings with eternity. . . .

"Shortly before her time was come, she left the town where she lived for the holy City of Death. . . . There, one morning she said quite calmly to her disciples, after the ceremonial bath and *pooja*, 'This is the last time I shall worship in this house (her body). Waste no time in regret, let us talk of the things we should be sorry to have left unsaid.' And all that day the faithful gathered round her and she expounded the scriptures with an insight unequalled even by herself. She ate nothing—'why prop up the house that is falling?'

"At night she asked to be taken down to the sacred river, and there sat on the stone steps of the ghat, claiming no support, no physical comfort, and then in the hour of dawn, 'It is right,' she said, and fell back. They put her into a boat and took her across to the ghat of the soul's departure, and there slipped her quietly into the stream, for that is all the burial service for one who is holy."*

There is now a steadily increasing movement among

* *Between the Twilights, being Studies of Indian Women by One of Themselves*, by C. Sorabji (Harpers, 1890), pp. 66-72.

orthodox Hindu girls (some of them widows, others of an age beyond the ordinary age of marriage) to acquire a competent knowledge of ancient Sanskrit learning and culture. Year after year such girls are appearing at, and successfully passing, the first and second Sanskrit examinations conducted by the Government. Some of these girls have even passed the title examination, which is of a very high standard. In two of these subjects one woman candidate was first. Another girl has passed the title examination in two departments of philosophy—the *Vedānta* and the *Sāṅkhya*. This significant movement is spreading over the different parts of the country. . . .

The most conservative-minded of Indians would repudiate a wish to allow "the living to be governed by the dead." It is because the dead signify something that still lives that the great majority of our witnesses plead for loyalty to the best traditions of the past in the working out of new educational plans for the girls of the present. And the response which is given to such an appeal by some of the young women who are now receiving higher education in Bengal is illustrated by the following passage from an essay on "The Message of the Age to Girls," by Miss Ashabati Sarkar, a third-year student of the Bethune College, Calcutta.*

"The girls of Bengal have been receiving education for about forty years. The time has come when we shall have to choose one or other of the ways. What way are we going to choose? The first glamour of awakening has passed. It is time some of the unpleasant features of the emancipation of women should pass also, and make room for reason and clear thought, which will make every girl of Bengal a true woman. . . . It is the spirit in which life is led that matters. The power of self-control is another name for liberty. Liberty consists in the right of choosing according to conscience and reason. This control was forced upon women by men before, but is now to come from within ourselves. To this, love must be added. Reason is supreme only by the side of love. Love has worked miracles, and will work thus for ever. It is impossible to be just unless one has the power of loving. 'Love is the fulfilment of the Law.'"

Received and given in this spirit, education may impart

* *The Bethune College Magazine*, March 1918.

the power alike of self-realisation and of self-restraint. It may bring, through the mother's trained insight and loving knowledge, wiser but not less affectionate care to the children in health and in illness, and a more far-seeing but not less tender guidance of their wills and thoughts during those first impressionable years when body and mind need the most delicate and yet deliberate touch. It can enlighten, by a knowledge of what cleanliness and fresh air may do both in warding off disease and in curing it, the thoughts and affections of women in the hours when they tend the sick. It can induce that attitude of mind which is reverent and loyal towards the spiritual wisdom of the past, and yet sure in its discrimination of false from true. It can give a tenderness which is not weakened by timidity, a simplicity which is not ignorance, a freedom which is not disobedient. The woman is true guardian of the early education of the children of the race, and she herself must have that which she alone can impart in turn to them. The way to much of what is best in education lies through the education of girls and women. And, as the ancient law-giver said, "When the women of a house are satisfied and happy, the Gods are pleased."

*The Essentials of Secondary Education.**

The deepest need now experienced in the secondary education of Bengal affects not India alone, but the whole world. Elsewhere, however, an ancient spiritual tradition, interwoven with the work and teaching of the schools, continues to supply something which serves, however imperfectly and not without challenge, as a basis of moral unity in education. Even there, however, it does not cover the whole field of school work. Much of the intellectual side of education is untouched by it. But the spiritual and moral tradition holds so firm a place in school life and in school practice, and has such influence over conduct, that the lack of intellectual unity is less clearly perceived, and the forces which form character continue

* Vol. I, Chapter VIII, Sections 77-83.

strong, though they are weak in grappling with many of the problems which challenge us in the tasks of modern life.

But in India, Western education is an exotic. However warmly welcomed by many of those who receive it, it remains an exotic. And it was first transplanted to India at a time when but little thought had been given to those conditions of school life (apart from what was expected to result from lessons in the Bible and from sermons) which impart and strengthen a sense of personal duty and give definition and warmth to the feeling of obligation. It seems to have been taken for granted that the course of instruction would carry along with it into schools in India that tradition of moral unity which is the most powerful agent in the formation of character. But, in order to avoid doing violence to any form of religious conviction, the British Government felt it right to allow no religious teaching to be given in the schools under its direct control in India. These schools, from which religious instruction is thus excluded in accordance with a scrupulously observed neutrality, have served to a large extent as the models copied by the Indian founders of other schools. Hence secondary education in India, apart from that which is definitely religious in atmosphere and in principle, has to rely upon the intellectual materials of its secular studies for what may give firmness to moral principle and may kindle an ideal of duty.

Much indeed has been found in those materials which gives inspiration and guidance. Thousands of boys have felt what an Indian scholar, speaking of the moral education imparted incidentally by Western studies, called "the strengthening which comes from the emotions and the will being worked upon by the histories of great movements, the lives of great men, and the songs of great poets." But in so far as the lack of a synthesis in modern thought makes itself felt, either consciously through criticism or unconsciously through discord in moral guidance, Indian secondary education feels the stress of the difficulty in an acute form, because it has to rely for ethical as well as for intel-

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lectual discipline upon that body of knowledge which itself suffers from inner divisions and has not yet been integrated with the older forms of worship and belief.

If, however, the power and effective influence of education depended on there being no flaw in the consistency of its intellectual materials and no rift or logical discontinuity between its sanctions of conduct and any of the presuppositions of its critical thought, secondary schools and Universities could never have flourished, because at no time has philosophy attained a synthesis in which all minds have found satisfaction and rest. It is only in some group of schools confined to one section of the community (like the schools of Port Royal or those in which Comenius worked) or, more rarely (as in the case of Neo-Hellenism in Germany), when an educational movement has expressed the transient unity of some dominant school of thought, that intellectual studies have been worked even into a semblance of unity or focussed with an attempt at consistency upon a theory of conduct. In schools which serve a whole nation there can only be approximate unity in intellectual outlook; at all times the process of mental and ethical readjustment is going on; it is when experience and discovery have for the time far outdistanced generalisation that the tension between thought and action is extreme. In the school-community, however, if its various activities are encouraged and recognised, there is a steadying force which gives moral unity to the whole and blends diverse temperaments into the texture of corporate life. But a way of escape must be left for those who are in fundamental opposition to the concordat on which such a public school community rests, and freedom should be given to them (subject to the needs of public safety) to find a place in some more congenial combination of their own. Thus liberty for private effort, alongside of the normal type of school publicly organised, strengthens national education by distributing energies which need different channels of expression and are most economically used in the public interest through diversity of schools.

This freedom to private initiative is given in Bengal.

And it is through a fuller development of the corporate life of each school community that effective kinds of moral education and training will be found possible and, even in present circumstances, not difficult to attain. But in Bengal a school is thought of too narrowly as a place of instruction. Its possibilities as a society are overlooked. Saying and hearing lessons are only one way of making use of the opportunity which is given for training and education by bringing together, day by day and for hours at a time, scores or hundreds of boys. They ought to learn how to work together for common ends, not only how by individual industry to achieve personal success. In any school the materials for an active and largely self-governing society lie ready to hand. There are the makings of a community in it. And through membership of a community, through bearing part in its duties and pleasures, through learning how to obey and how to govern in it, a boy learns lessons which he needs not less than those which he gets by being punctual in class and diligent with his books at home. At school he ought to feel himself not a mere unit who has to learn things at an appointed time and place; not simply one of a multitude of similar units receiving instruction from his teachers; but a member of a community, responsible for service to it, an active participant in its various occupations, attached to it by a network of interests and responsibilities. It cannot be said that this side of education is impracticable in India. To give one example alone, it is highly developed at Bolpur. Experience has shown that it can be realised not in boarding schools only, but in day schools also. For example, the idea of the school community has been highly developed in the Boys' Own Home. The obstacle does not lie in the social conditions of India, though these forbid any literal imitation of European or American models, but in a state of mind, in a too limited conception of what a school may do and be, in a preoccupation with the purely didactic side of school life, in a failure to realise that not the least important kind of education, intellectual and moral alike, lies in the busy, ordered freedom of a school community,

which is entrusted with responsibilities and allowed under guidance and supervision to gain its own experience of liberty, obedience and command.

This view of education does not detract from the value of the personality of the teacher. On the contrary, it puts the teacher into a relationship with his pupils in which what he is becomes at least as important as what he knows. But, in the life of a school community which is both disciplined and free, the teacher finds that all his knowledge comes under requisition, and that he has to give more, not less, of his thought and time to his pupils, becoming himself happier, more active-minded, and more resourceful. The life of the school, running freely through many channels, invigorates him and keeps him young through comradeship with the young. No teacher can forgo routine. But the corrective of routine is taking part in a many-sided life.

Again, the view which attaches great importance in education to the activities of a school community perceives also a fuller significance in what school should set its masters to teach and its pupils to learn. It does not underrate the importance of direct teaching on points of duty and morals, whether such teaching be incidental and occasional or (in right hands and on suitable opportunities) more systematised and elaborate. But it sees that indirect methods of moral education are much more numerous, less likely to arouse contrariant feelings and, though less obvious, more fruitful. A school is fundamentally two things: a place of authoritative instruction and a community in which may be learnt by way of practice and preparation many of the duties and activities of life. In both of these aspects a school can form character, and it has no higher function. And through its course of studies, to some boys even more than through its corporate life, it can impart the essentials of moral, as well as of intellectual, training. The two are inseparable. The intellectual factor in conduct is at least as important as the emotional. But, in order that the intellectual factor may have full weight in moral education, the course of

study should not only train the mind in concentration of thought, in accuracy of observation and recollection, in precision of reasoning, and in the power of selecting and sifting opposite facts, but should also furnish it with ideas, kindle its admiration, make it acquainted with noble examples, arouse and train the love of beauty. Thus the question of curriculum becomes more crucial than when it is regarded simply from the point of view of what the rules of an examination require. And, under the influence of this wider view of education, teachers and parents alike begin to feel the need for a course of study which can touch every side of a boy's nature, give scope to all his natural gifts, stimulate him to many kinds of expression, and impart to him a high purpose in life. Literature, history, mathematics, and natural science each demand a place in such a course and, in addition to these, physical exercises and music, drawing and other forms of manual skill.

*Importance of the Vernacular.**

By means of languages learnt at school or later, an educated man or woman should hold at least the chief keys to the world's culture. In his hand should be the passport which will admit him, through words written and spoken, to the society of thinkers and writers, dead or living, near at hand or far off. For the scholar of the Middle Ages in Europe the master-key was Latin. For the man of affairs in Europe in the eighteenth century the master-key was French. For the educated Indian of to-day the master-key is English. English, then, is indispensable to the higher education of India at this time. It cannot be forgone. The instinct of the people is right. It is not merely that for the Indian student English is an instrument of livelihood. It is more than that. It is a pathway leading into a wider intellectual life.

But, on the other hand, the mother tongue is of primary importance. The mother tongue is the true vehicle of

* Vol. I, Chapter VIII, Sections 86-87.

mother wit. Another medium of speech may bring with it, as English brings with it, a current of new ideas. But the mother tongue is one with the air in which a man is born. It is through the vernacular (refined, though not weakened, by scholarship and taste) that the new conceptions of the mind should press their way to birth in speech. This is almost universally true, except in cases so rare (like that of Joseph Conrad) as to emphasise the general rule. A man's native speech is almost like his shadow, inseparable from his personality. In our way of speech we must each, as the old saying runs, drink water out of our own cistern. For each one of us is a member of a community. We share its energy and its instincts; its memories, however dim, of old and far-off things. And it is through our vernacular, through our folk-speech, whether actually uttered or harboured in our unspoken thoughts, that most of us attain to the characteristic expression of our nature and of what our nature allows us to be or to discern. Through its mother tongue the infant first learns to name the things it sees or feels or tastes or hears, as well as the ties of kindred and the colours of good and evil. It is the mother tongue which gives to the adult mind the relief and illumination of utterance, as it clutches after the aid of words when new ideas or judgments spring from the wordless recesses of thought or feeling under the stimulus of physical experience or of emotion. Hence in all education, the primary place should be given to training in the exact and free use of the mother tongue.

*The Aims of Secondary Education.**

In order to define more clearly the benefit which the community would receive from a great improvement in its secondary schools, we will attempt a short description of the liberal education which they should endeavour to provide. But we hope that, in doing so, we may not be thought to underrate the distance which in education

* Vol. IV, Chapter XXXI, Sections 106-7.

everywhere separates the actual from the ideal. It is seldom the lot of a teacher to come near the achievement of his highest aims. As rarely can a school impart to its scholars all that at its best a liberal education implies. But by unselfishness and patience a teacher becomes the channel through which his pupils learn more than he dared hope to give. And, with the help of a right spirit among its governors and staff, a school, even though hampered by lack of means, may communicate in the simplest form, but nevertheless with great power over mind and character the essential qualities of a good education.

Such an education should be given under conditions favourable to the health of the pupils. Their bodies should be developed and trained by systematic and vigorous exercise. Their eyes should be trained to see, their ears to hear, with quick and sure discrimination. Their sense of beauty should be awakened, and they should be taught to express it by music and by movement, and through line and colour. Their hands should be trained to skilful use. Their will should be kindled by an ideal and hardened by a discipline enjoining self-control. They should learn to express themselves accurately and simply in their mother tongue and, in India, in English also. Through mathematics, they should learn the relations of forms and of numbers. Through history and literature they should learn something of the records of the past; what the human race (and not least their fellow-countrymen) have achieved; and how the great poets and sages have interpreted the experience of life. Their education should further demand from them some study of nature and should set them in the way of realising both the amount and the quality of evidence which a valid induction requires. Besides this, it should open windows in their minds, so that they may see wide perspectives of history and of human thought. But it should also, by the enforcement of accuracy and steady work, teach them by what toil and patience men have to make their way along the road to truth. Above all, the education should endeavour to give them, by such

methods and influences as it is free to use, a sure hold upon the principles of right and wrong, and should teach them to apply those principles in their conduct. Thus its chief work is to enlighten and practise the conscience, both the moral conscience and the intellectual. And, through the activities of corporate life in the school, it should give the pupils experience in bearing responsibility in organisation, and in working with others for public ends, whether in leadership or in submission to the common will.

SECTION V.—BRITISH POLICY TOWARDS THE INDIAN STATES

SPEECH BY THE EARL OF MINTO (VICEROY AND GOVERNOR-GENERAL), AT A STATE BANQUET AT UDAIPUR, 3RD NOVEMBER, 1909.

It is sometimes asked by Ruling Chiefs as well as by the public in India and in Europe, what our policy towards Native States is.

I can only tell you that the basis of that policy was laid down in Queen Victoria's Proclamation of 1858 and repeated in the Coronation message of His Majesty the King-Emperor. In 1858 Queen Victoria addressed the Princes of India as follows: "We hereby announce to the Native Princes of India that all Treaties and engagements made with them by, or under the authority of, the Honourable East India Company are by us accepted and will be scrupulously observed; and we look for the like observance on their part. We desire no extension of our present territorial possessions; and while we will admit no aggression upon our dominions or our rights to be attempted with impunity, we shall sanction no encroachment on those of others. We shall respect the rights, dignity, and honour of Native Princes as our own; and we desire that they, as well as our own subjects, should enjoy that prosperity and that social advancement which can only be secured by internal peace and good government." And forty-four years later the King-Emperor wrote: "To all my Feudatories and subjects throughout India I renew the assurance of my regard for their liberties, of respect for their dignities and rights, of interest in their advancement, and of devotion to their

welfare, which are the supreme aim and object of my rule, and which, under the blessing of Almighty God, will lead to the increasing prosperity of my Indian Empire, and the greater happiness of its people." In pursuance of these pledges, our policy is, with rare exceptions, one of non-interference in the internal affairs of Native States. But in guaranteeing their internal independence, and in undertaking their protection against external aggression, it naturally follows that the Imperial Government has assumed a certain degree of responsibility for the general soundness of their administration, and would not consent to incur the reproach of being an indirect instrument of misrule. There are also certain matters in which it is necessary for the Government of India to safeguard the interests of the community as a whole as well as those of the Paramount Power, such as railways, telegraphs, and other services of an Imperial character. But the relationship of the Supreme Government to the States is one of ~~sovereignty~~.

Your Highness will, I know, recognise the difficulty that must exist in adhering to a uniform policy, owing to the varying conditions of different States. It is this diversity of conditions which renders so dangerous any attempt at complete uniformity and subservience to precedent. I have therefore made it a rule to avoid as far as possible the issue of general instructions, and have endeavoured to deal with questions as they arose with reference to existing treaties, the merits of each case, local conditions, antecedent circumstances, and the particular stage of development, feudal and constitutional, of individual principalities.

In a word, the object of my Government has been to interpret the pronouncement of two successive Sovereigns as inculcating—in accordance with the eloquent words of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales in his speech at the Guildhall after his return from India—a more sympathetic, and therefore a more elastic policy. The foundation stone of the whole system is the recognition of identity of interests between the Imperial Government and Durbars,

and the minimum interference with the latter in their own affairs.

I have always been opposed to anything like pressure on Durbars with a view to introducing British methods of administration—I have preferred that reforms should emanate from the Durbars themselves, and grow up in harmony with the traditions of the State. It is easy to over-estimate the value of administrative efficiency—it is not the only object to aim at, though the encouragement of it must be attractive to keen and able Political Officers, and it is not unnatural that the temptation to further it should for example appeal strongly to those who are temporarily in charge of the administration of a State during a minority, whether they are in sole charge or associated with a State Council. Their position is a difficult one—it is one of peculiar trust—and though abuses and corruption must, of course, as far as possible be corrected, I cannot but think that Political Officers will do wisely to accept the general system of administration to which the Chief and his people have been accustomed. The methods sanctioned by tradition in States are usually well adapted to the needs and relations of the ruler and his people. The loyalty of the latter to the former is generally a personal loyalty, which administrative efficiency, if carried out on lines unsuited to local conditions, would lessen or impair.

I can assure Political Officers I am speaking in no spirit of criticism. No one has a greater admiration for their services than I have. I believe that they themselves very fully recognise that the necessities of the time have somewhat changed. I believe that they will agree with me. I know that they will loyally endeavour to carry out my views. My aim and object will be, as it has always been, to assist them, but I would impress upon them that they are not only the mouthpiece of Government and the custodian of Imperial policy, but that I look to them also to interpret the sentiments and aspirations of the Durbars. It is upon the tactful fulfilment of their dual functions that the Supreme Government and Chiefs must mutually rely.

It is upon the harmonious co-operation of Indian Princes and Political Officers that so much depends—co-operation which must increase in value as communications develop and new ideas gain ground. We are at the commencement of a new era of thought in India. We shall have many new problems to face as years go on, problems surrounded with difficulties and anxieties, in the solution of which I trust that the Ruling Chiefs of India will ever bear in mind that the interests of themselves and their people are identical with those of the Supreme Government.

SECTION VI.—INDIA AND THE EMPIRE

SPEECH BY THE HON'BLE KHAN BAHADUR MIAN MUHAMMAD SHAFI ON THE QUESTION OF THE REPRESENTATION OF INDIA IN THE IMPERIAL CONFERENCE (JUNE 1916).

(Extract.)

MY LORD, to us in this country it is a source of deep disappointment, as well as of profound astonishment, that, in spite of her prominent position in the galaxy of peoples and countries constituting the British Empire, of her political, commercial, and strategic importance, of the obvious utility of her participation in the deliberations of the Conference, and of the invaluable services rendered by her to the Empire, India should have been hitherto excluded from this scheme of Imperial Federation. Of India's prominent position within the Empire I do not propose to speak to-day. Honourable Members are, I have no doubt, perfectly familiar with the eloquent and absolutely faithful picture of our country's importance within and to the Empire drawn by Lord Curzon in his Guildhall (1904) and other speeches. Fortunately, that Imperial statesman is a member of the National Cabinet to which I am appealing to-day. All India will watch with a vigilant and an expectant eye to see if those memorable speeches represented merely the impassioned rhetoric of an orator designed to create a momentary impression upon his audience in order to win their applause, or if the sentiments expressed therein were, in reality—as they undoubtedly appear to be, in the beautiful language in which they are clothed—the outcome of his sincere convictions. The request embodied in the Resolution which I am about to move is but the logical result

of Lord Curzon's utterances relating to India's position within the Empire, and not only will India of to-day, but also the future historian, judge His Lordship's sincerity as an Imperial statesman by the measure of support which will be given by him to the earnest appeal which India is making to be allowed to take her proper place in the Imperial Federation of Greater Britain.

My Lord, electricity and steam having bridged over the wide gulfs of space and time, the expressions the "Near East," the "Middle East," and the "Far East" have lost their erstwhile significance. And not only have the different parts of the East, though distant from each other if measured in miles, been thus brought close together, but the East has thereby come into direct and immediate contact with the West. Under the world-conditions brought into existence by modern culture and civilisation, the East is henceforward bound to play an increasingly important part in international affairs. To those who have carefully watched the trend of those political and sociological movements which have, of recent years, stirred humanity to an extent hitherto entirely unknown, it must be obvious that not only has India become in truth the pivot of the East, but the part, ever increasing in its momentous importance, which she is destined to play in the political and commercial spheres of human activity, is bound to gather volume with the advance of time. And with this practical annihilation of space and time, the strategic position of India, not only within the Empire, but also in relation to the States with whom the vital interests of the British Empire are at all likely to come into conflict in the future, near or remote, is becoming more and more important. This vital aspect of the Imperial problem is of such fascinating interest as to require a volume for its adequate treatment, and it is impossible for me to do justice to it within the absolutely insufficient space of time at my disposal. Indeed, with the immense material and military resources of India, her political, commercial, and strategic importance to the Empire is a factor of ever-increasing moment in world politics and,

in proportion, is her direct participation in the deliberations of what has been called the "Family Council" of the Empire absolutely essential to its future development and prosperity.

My Lord, is there a single problem of Imperial or even international interest in which India, as an integral and an important part of the British Empire, is not directly concerned? Is there a single Imperial question in relation to which the interests of Great Britain, of the self-governing Colonies, and of India are, under the existing conditions, not indissolubly bound together? Can any scheme of Imperial defence be regarded as complete without taking into account India's defensive requirements and her offensive capacity, not only in relation to her own frontiers, but, as recent events have made it abundantly clear, also in connection with the military needs of the Empire in every portion of the globe? Is it possible to evolve any scheme of Imperial Preference, or to introduce any workable Imperial fiscal reform, without taking into consideration what may be called India's inter-Imperial interests? To these and other cognate questions there can be but one answer. India is directly and materially interested in all important problems of the Empire, of which she is proud to form an integral part, to the same extent and in the same degree as any other portion of His Imperial Majesty's vast dominions. Moreover, are there not a number of domestic problems of the nature of family complications, such as immigration, tariffs, etc., which can only be satisfactorily solved by the representatives of the Imperial, Colonial, and Indian Governments meeting together in periodical Conferences? And is not their solution indispensable to the smooth working of the Imperial machinery and to the happiness and contentment of His Majesty's subjects in all parts of the world? The more or less satisfactory settlement of the South African Indian troubles—due mainly to the firm stand made by Your Excellency on behalf of this country—was, in part, brought about by the timely deputation of the Honourable Sir Benjamin Robertson

as the representative of our Government, and by the visit of that devoted Indian patriot, the late Honourable Mr. G. K. Gokhale, to the scene of that unfortunate conflict. The presence in the Imperial Conference of one or more representatives of the Government of this country, with intimate knowledge and experience of the East generally, and of India particularly, would not only satisfy Indian sentiment, but also prove of immense benefit to the Empire, and would help to solve, smoothly and expeditiously, many difficult problems which have, in the past, imposed a tremendous strain on British statesmanship.

My Lord, in view of recent occurrences, it is hardly necessary for me to dwell in detail on India's past services to the Empire not only along, or in close proximity to her own frontiers, but also in China, South Africa, Somaliland, Egypt, the Persian Gulf and at other points of vital importance outside her statutory boundaries. These are historical facts well known to His Majesty's Ministers in England. But just as the terrible crisis through which the world is now passing has dwarfed all previous international upheavals into insignificance, so has the part taken by India in the defence of the Empire's honour and in support of her glory in this titanic struggle, surpassed all her previous record. Simultaneously with Great Britain's declaration of war in defence of weaker States, of sacred obligations arising out of solemn international treaties, and in vindication of those principles of justice and honour which have ever appealed to the best instincts of mankind, a remarkable wave of intense loyal enthusiasm passed over the length and breadth of India. Prince and peasant alike vied with each other in their readiness to sacrifice everything in upholding the honour and glory of the Imperial banner under which they had hitherto enjoyed the priceless blessings of peace and prosperity. Thanks to Your Excellency's wonderful foresight, the outbreak of hostilities found India, from a military point of view, readier than any other part of the Empire to take the field wherever the presence of her armies may be needed. And when Your Excellency

obtained for Indian soldiers the proud privilege of fighting side by side with their British and Colonial comrades on the battlefields of Europe, thus attaining their full and undoubted right of upholding the King's banner irrespective of locality, the delight of His Majesty's subjects in this country knew no bounds. The share taken by India in this gigantic struggle, the part played by our soldiers in China, Africa, Mesopotamia, and on the European battlefields, has not only won for them the unstinted admiration of their British and Colonial comrades, but has also been fully acknowledged by the British nation in solemn Resolution adopted at the Guildhall meeting. And if, when merely knocking at the outside gate for admission into the Imperial Federation, India has willingly and spontaneously done what she has done in this critical period of British history, what is it that she will not be prepared to do if allowed her proper place in the Councils of the Empire? Contented India will then place at the disposal of the Empire not only "124 regiments of infantry with artillery, and 28 regiments of cavalry, besides smaller bodies of troops, aggregating more than an infantry division," but the martial races of India will, should occasion arise, pour forth millions upon millions of unrivalled fighters for the defence of the Empire. With the part which India has taken in this titanic war, with the conclusive proof given by her of her abiding loyalty to the British Crown in this international crisis, is it surprising that, in November last, Mr. Charles Roberts, speaking in the House of Commons on behalf of the Secretary of State, should have given expression to the desire of Government that India should "occupy a place in our free Empire worthy alike of her ancient civilisation and thought, of the valour of her fighting races and of the patriotism of her sons"? "She now claims," said he, "to be not a mere dependent of, but a partner in, the Empire." And on behalf of the then Leader of the Opposition, now Secretary of State for the Colonies in the National Cabinet, and with his full authority, Mr. H. W. Forster, recognising "India's splendid and unswerv-

ing loyalty," associated His Majesty's Opposition with these sentiments. With the eloquent words uttered by the Prime Minister and the Right Honourable Mr. Bonar Law in the memorable Guildhall meeting still ringing in our ears, is it surprising that the Indian subjects of His Imperial Majesty should be full of hope and trust in the future of their country? And that hope and trust are vastly strengthened when we remember that the comradeship on the battlefields of three continents between the British, Colonial, and Indian soldiers has not only removed groundless misconceptions and brought about mutual confidence and understanding, but has sealed with blood for all time this renewed compact of fellow-citizenship of a great and glorious Empire. In the words of Erric Harmond's "Salutation to Indian Soldiers"—

" . . . Through the boom of guns
That rumbles round the surface of the globe
Your prowess and your courage strike the sight
Of all men living. You have won your right.
Our Empire needs, and has, the circling band
Of steadfast union, part to part. Our ways,
Our hopes are one; and, onward hand in hand,
We tread, Invincible, our Imperial strand.' "

My Lord, it is impossible for me to discuss in detail all the solid grounds which lie at the basis of my Resolution within the half-hour to which I am limited. I have confined myself to what is but an incomplete synopsis of this important subject, and indicated the lines upon which, in my humble judgment, the discussion of this Imperial problem should proceed in and out of this Council. It is not only absolutely unnecessary, but would, to my mind, be in the highest degree impolitic to dwell on the past, and to criticise the policy which has hitherto kept India out of the Imperial Conference. The dawn of a new era of hope and trust, of mutual confidence and understanding, is already visible above the horizon, and it behoves all well-wishers of the country to approach the question in a spirit of hopefulness, dealing with it in the

light of those principles of constructive statesmanship which alone lead to ultimate success.

My Lord, India is not content with the occasional presence of the Secretary of State at the Imperial Conference: what she wants is her own direct representation, like that of the British Colonies. And just as the glimmer of the early dawn heralds the coming of the Fountain of Light, so is the gracious permission granted me to-day the harbinger of the happy period when, this her just claim being duly recognised, India will take her proper place in the Councils of the Empire. Fortunately for her, the affairs of the Empire are at this moment presided over not by this party or that, but by a truly National Cabinet representative of the entire British nation. And the glorious example of South Africa has already furnished an object-lesson to those who may have entertained any doubts regarding the absolute efficacy of a policy of sympathy and trust. On behalf of 313 millions of my countrymen, representing over 75 per cent. of the entire population of the Empire, I appeal, through Your Excellency, to His Majesty's Government and, through them, to the enlightened conscience of our British fellow subjects in Great Britain and her Colonies for India's admission in the Imperial Federation which, with the resulting contentment in all parts of the Empire, will constitute the best guarantee not only of the happiness of His Majesty's subjects, belonging to all races and creeds, but also of the peace of the world. With complete confidence in the justice of our claim and a heart full of hope and trust, my Lord, I beg leave to move the following Resolution:—

“ This Council recommends to the Governor-General in Council that a representation be sent, through the Right Honourable the Secretary of State, to His Majesty's Government urging that India should, in future, be officially represented in the Imperial Conference.”

HIS EXCELLENCY THE PRESIDENT.—It has been a source of profound satisfaction to me that it has been within my power to accept for discussion the very moderate and

statesmanlike Resolution, happily devoid of all controversial character, that has been proposed by the Honourable Mr. Muhammad Shafi, and it is a matter of still greater satisfaction and pleasure to me to be able to announce that the Government of India gladly accept this important Resolution, which has their warmest sympathy, and, if it is accepted by Council as a whole, the Government will readily comply with the recommendation contained therein.

RESOLUTION PASSED AT THE IMPERIAL WAR CONFERENCE,
1918.

THE Imperial War Conference is of opinion that effect should now be given to the principle of reciprocity approved by Resolution XXII of the Imperial War Conference, 1917.

In pursuance of that Resolution it is agreed that :—

1. It is an inherent function of the Governments of the several communities of the British Commonwealth, including India, that each should enjoy complete control of the composition of its own population by means of restriction on immigration from any of the other communities.

2. British citizens domiciled in any British country, including India, should be admitted into any other British country for visits, for the purpose of pleasure or commerce, including temporary residence for the purpose of education. The conditions of such visits should be regulated on the principle of reciprocity as follows :—

(a) The right of the Government of India is recognised to enact laws which shall have the effect of subjecting British citizens domiciled in any other British country to the same conditions in visiting India as those imposed on Indians desiring to visit such country.

(b) Such right of visit or temporary residence shall, in each individual case, be embodied in a

passport or written permit issued by the country of domicile and subject to *visé* there by an officer appointed by, and acting on behalf of, the country to be visited, if such country so desires.

(c) Such right shall not extend to a visit or temporary residence for labour purposes, or to permanent settlement.

3. Indians already permanently domiciled in the other British Dominions should be allowed to bring in their wives and minor children on condition (a) that not more than one wife and her children shall be admitted for each such Indian, and (b) that each individual so admitted shall be certified by the Government of India as the lawful wife or child of such Indian.

4. The Conference recommends the other questions covered by the Memoranda presented this year and last year to the Conference by the representatives of India, in so far as not dealt with in the foregoing paragraphs of this Resolution, to the various Governments concerned, with a view to early consideration.

[The Resolution was carried unanimously.]

SECTION VII.—INDIA AND THE WAR

LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR JAMES WILLCOCKS' MESSAGE TO THE INDIAN ARMY CORPS AT THE FRONT.

Order of the Day, No. 1

SOLDIERS OF THE INDIAN ARMY CORPS.

We have all read with pride the gracious message of His Majesty the King-Emperor to his troops from India.

On the eve of going into the field to join our British comrades, who have covered themselves with glory in this great war, it is our firm resolve to prove ourselves worthy of the honour which has been conferred on us as representatives of the Army of India.

In a few days we shall be fighting as has never been our good fortune to fight before and against enemies who have a long history.

But is their history as long as yours? You are the descendants of men who have been mighty rulers and great warriors for many centuries. You will never forget this. You will recall the glories of your race. Hindu and Muhammadan will be fighting side by side with British soldiers and our gallant French Allies. You will be helping to make history. You will be the first Indian soldiers of the King-Emperor who will have the honour of showing in Europe that the sons of India have lost none of their ancient martial instincts and are worthy of the confidence reposed in them.

In battle you will remember that your religions enjoin on you that to give your life doing your duty is your highest reward.

The eyes of your co-religionists and your fellow-countrymen are on you. From the Himalayan Mountains, the

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banks of the Ganges and Indus, and the plains of Hindustan, they are eagerly waiting for the news of how their brethren conduct themselves when they meet the foe. From mosques and temples their prayers are ascending to the God of all, and you will answer their hopes by the proofs of your valour.

You will fight for your King-Emperor and your faith, so that history will record the doings of India's sons and your children will proudly tell of the deeds of their fathers.

JAMES WILLCOCKS,

Lieut.-General.

Commanding Indian Army Corps.

Camp.

10th October, 1914.

ADDRESS BY THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF BIRKENHEAD,
SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA, AT THE UNVEILING
OF A WAR MEMORIAL AT NEUVE CHAPELLE, 7TH
OCTOBER, 1927.

THE outlines of the great story, to the mortal side of which to-day we pay homage, have been drawn by the distinguished soldier who succeeded Sir James Willcocks in the command of the Corps. I have nothing to add to his summary or to his narrative. But I ask leave to offer a word of affection, of gratitude, and of admiration to the memory of James Willcocks. Stout soldier, staunch friend, ardent patriot, he had for the Indian troops an affection which did not yield even to that of the illustrious Roberts. On him, too, may the earth rest lightly. If such things happen ever, or can happen, be sure that his spirit is in our midst to-day.

I cannot look at this memorial without emotion. It expresses in noble but simple architecture the gratitude of an Empire to the fallen dead of storied India. It was originally designed to commemorate those soldiers only, whose last fate was unknown, and to whose bodies were denied the rights of pious sepulture. But a broader and

a wiser decision has ordained that it shall stand here for all time to remind those who come after us, not only of the glory of the missing, but also of the sacrifice of the known Dead. And surely this decision was altogether right, for no man can do more than this—that he gives his life.

In three matters, while all who fought suffered greatly and wrought nobly, the endurance of the Indians was remarkable in a special manner. Firstly they fought thousands of miles from their homes, in strange and unfamiliar surroundings, among peoples whose tongues they did not know; whose ways were not their ways; whose civilisation—better or worse—was not theirs.

And secondly they fought in a climate to which their bodies were not inured and for the endurance of which they lacked habituation; most of them made swift exchange of the scorching heat of India for the weeping skies of Flanders. I saw them—I can see them now—shivering in those early and primitive trenches, standing up to their knees in foul water—their features always composed in that mask of fatalism which gives an impression of pathos altogether poignant. Their bodies were often broken by the elements, but their souls were never conquered.

And thirdly these men who have died fought in a quarrel of which their understanding was less perfect than was that of those by whose side they contended. The Belgian remembered a happy and innocent country which he had almost wholly lost. The French saw all around them the cruel signs of local destruction and, in the vivid eyes of imagination, must in dark moments have apprehended the loss of Paris, the Incomparable, and the spread of that menacing invasion, into yet further areas, unknown, incalculable.

And so, too, in History, those whose valour was rendered immortal by Thucydides fought near to their homes and in a quarrel with known dangers. Nor did the Spartans who perished at Thermopylæ offer their lives upon an issue obscurely understood.

It would be an insincerity to pretend that in this sense

the objects with which this war was waged could have been known, or were known, to the majority of the Indian Army. Many a humble soldier, one suspects, must have thought of his far-away village, sun-swept, unmenaced, and wondered what inscrutable purpose of whatever deity he worshipped had projected him into this sinister and bloody maelstrom.

It is in all these circumstances the special soldierly virtue of these troops that they met with steadfast eyes the clash of a novel and horrible war certainly without the clear, perhaps without the discernible, stimulus of a danger to their own homes, or to their own wives and children. Whence then came this spirit of endurance and of high endeavour? It came from the twin sources of an inborn and simple loyalty; of an instructed and very perfect discipline. Like the Roman legionary, they were faithful unto death. They had accepted a duty. They discharged it. More cannot be said: more need not be said.

But of another element in the gallant force which is represented in this memorial I must certainly add a word. There perished, in fourteen months in France, directing and inspiring that force, two hundred and sixty British officers. There were wounded over a thousand. The names of those who have no known grave are here recorded. I know enough of the minds of those who followed them on the road of death to know that if they were with us they would most deeply resent any appreciation of their own worth which failed to include a tribute to the British officers whom they trusted and in whose company they met their fate.

In an alien soil we leave the Indian troops where they died. If the intuitive belief of mankind through the ages be well founded—if a region of happiness awaits the true and the valiant—may the spirits of these men, in that region, know that they did not die in vain!

APPENDIX

LORD MORLEY: AN APPRECIATION.

(Reprinted by permission from *Civil Service Opinion*,
October, 1923.)

"I DEPRECATE the rather curt and ultra-official tone of some of our letters. *Benignity is not other than a virtue, even in a great public office.*" This gentle reproof was once inscribed by Lord Morley on a departmental draft. It was characteristic of the qualities that endeared him to those who had the privilege of working in personal association with him at the India Office. We officials, whose lot it is to pursue the minor and slightly mechanical routine of Whitehall, can rarely expect our compositions—exercises for the most part in the art of saying "no"—to be perused with any particular enthusiasm by their recipients, but it might soften the asperities of official correspondence and render the name of Civil Servant less repellent to the general public if we were to put in the forefront of our Manuals of Procedure Lord Morley's precept—benignity a virtue, even in a Government office.

This is not the place, nor mine the presumption, to attempt an appreciation of the part Lord Morley played in the public life of his day and generation. It has been well put by a journal whose political opinions were widely opposed to his own, and the tribute is the more notable on that account—"Eminent as he was, both in letters and politics, he had established a claim upon the public regard of his age which was beyond and above any literary or political title, a claim founded upon character, upon personality. Many might disagree with him; but

none distrusted him. . . . He was one of the assets of our public life. His memory will long be an influence only less potent than his living example" (*Morning Post*, 24th September, 1923). That is a worthy tribute, and all who knew Lord Morley will acclaim its truth.

It was a troublous time in India when John Morley, as he then was, became Secretary of State. The story of that momentous period is told in Lord Morley's own words in his volume of *Recollections* (Macmillan & Co., 1917) under the title "A Short Page of Imperial History." Here, in a remarkable series of letters addressed to the Viceroy, we are taken behind the scenes and are allowed to scan what Lord Morley calls "the log" of an adventurous voyage. Unrest was widespread. Quite apart from the natural aspiration of the Indian *intelligentsia* to take a larger share in government and administration, there was clear evidence of a sinister conspiracy against the maintenance of law and order, culminating in bomb-throwing and assassinations. Stern and summary measures had to be taken to repress the revolutionary movement, which, as Lord Morley said in one of his most impressive speeches, might if unchecked bring India to a condition of "anarchy and bloody chaos." But Lord Morley was not the man to be content with mere repression. "Force," he declared, "is all very well, and you cannot carry on government without it, open or reserved, either in India or anywhere else. But we British at any rate cannot afford not to cultivate at the same time some sort of progressive elements." So he held firmly to the project, conceived long before the outbreak of disorder, of enlarging the powers and responsibilities of the Legislative Councils in India, the policy which has been aptly described as that of rallying the moderates. "Which would be the more flagrant sign of weakness," he asked, in his great speech in the House of Lords in December, 1908, "to go steadily on with your policy of reform in spite of bombs, or to let yourself openly be forced by bombs and murder-clubs to drop your policy?" There was only one answer possible, from an assembly of Englishmen. "It is

simply standing to your guns," Lord Morley urged, and the noble Lords, who had listened spell-bound, did not dissent. So in the spring of the following year the Secretary of State introduced into Parliament the Bill that became in due course the Indian Councils Act of 1909, a measure which, though recently it has become the fashion to speak of it in terms of rather ungenerous disparagement, was yet recognised at the time, by men well qualified to judge, as a landmark in the history of the relations of Great Britain and India.

It would be tedious to expound the details of what came to be known as the "Morley-Minto reforms." Briefly, it may be said that they proceeded on the principle laid down by a great Anglo-Indian administrator, Sir Alfred Lyall: "It is a true maxim, in political as well as physical mechanics, that you can have no effective support without resistance or the capacity to resist—that without giving responsibility you cannot secure efficiency." So official majorities were abolished in the provincial Legislatures, and Indian members were appointed to high office in the Executive Governments.

It was a privilege in those days to see history in the making—to see the Bill shaped, and to see the Secretary of State bring it before the Peers; to go down to the House of Lords and watch how, with the entry of the Archbishop of Canterbury followed by Lord Morley, "all the chandeliers glowed forth at the half-light, causing a mild radiance to fill the Chamber"; how Lord Morley took his seat next the Bishops and remained there, as an observant Pressman noticed, "in visible appreciation of the propinquity of so much saintliness"; and then to watch that great Englishman explain and vindicate his policy, with a quiet reasonableness and masterly power of exposition, with intense conviction, and at the same time with complete good humour, before a grudgingly admiring phalanx of his Peers (his peers!). It was magnificent, as one ardent young aristocrat exclaimed, to see him there, with barely a dozen stalwarts to support him, bluffing reluctant opponents into acceptance of his Bill, the whole

Bill, and nothing but the Bill. It seemed so unfair, too. On the one side an old man, "the veteran Ulysses" (to quote his own words of *his* chief, Mr. Gladstone), "who after more than half a century of combat, service, and toil thought it not too late to try a further 'work of noble note'"; and to support him, one who, lacking the same fire and personality, seemed older still, the late Lord Wolverhampton, who also spoke with authority and emphasis, but as it seemed with a rather pathetic sense of the hopelessness of convincing his hearers; and on the other side the serried ranks of Conservative Peers, keen, alert, and businesslike, raising, as though they were quite novel, points that one knew to have been thoroughly threshed out in the long and dispassionate discussions, the interminable interchange of despatches between Whitehall and Simla.

But in the end Lord Morley carried his Bill. "We have left a little of our fur in the trap," he wrote to Lord Minto, "in the shape of a clause which is probably of no vast importance, but still is worth something in view of possible contingencies ahead of us. . . . Whatever else happens, we shall have it back when the Bill reaches the House of Commons." And so it came to pass; the disputed clause was restored by the Commons and duly became law.

His resolute administration and unswerving support of the Viceroy in the maintenance of law and order came as a surprise to those who had labelled him Radical and "doctrinaire," and expected his conduct of affairs to square with their preconceived notions. One Indian paper, contrasting the John Morley of the *Fortnightly Review* with the Secretary of State for India, was moved to lament that "by a curious concatenation of events, the irony of which is plain, this David of Democracy was converted at one bound into the Goliath of Benevolent Despotism"; while another bewailed the fact that Lord Morley "having taken off the silken glove, exposes the mailed fist of mighty Britain in its monstrous revengeful nudity!" In this country it was realised that the governance of India

was in trusty hands. A journal of the Imperialist persuasion, growing lyrical, hailed him as "the safe successor of the Great Mogul," a description of himself which Lord Morley heard with amused deprecation, not untinged with complacency.

Readers of the *Recollections* will realise something of the strain that the work of a Cabinet Minister entails. Often Lord Morley would be in Cabinet or presiding over a Sub-Committee of the Imperial Defence Committee all morning. Then, after lunch, would follow a succession of interviews with high officials home on leave from India. The Secretary of State was a great believer in the value of such oral consultations, "face answering to face," as he put it. He disliked long disquisitions. "Do put your foot down on promiscuous noting," he tells Lord Minto; and when speaker or writer grew prolix he would shake his head, and sigh, "Ah, — has a grievous gift of length." He had a specially warm corner in his heart for soldiers and frontier officers. A wrong impression may sometimes have been formed owing to his courtesy and personal charm, his sympathy and eagerness to grasp and elucidate the other man's point of view. (He had, indeed, like Socrates of old, the "maieutic" faculty, the instinct of intellectual midwifery.) I remember one frontiersman, a keen and zealous officer, bursting into the Private Secretary's room after half an hour's interview, firmly convinced that he had converted Lord Morley to whole-hearted acceptance of the "Forward Policy," having been listened to with such responsiveness and readiness of comprehension. But Lord Morley would sometimes say of himself—"I am, above all else, a ready learner—at least in the region of the minor premiss." There was much virtue in that qualification. In all the greater issues he was inflexible. "Truth and justice," a critic has written of him, "these are the fixed stars by which he steers his barque. He touches politics with a certain spiritual emotion that makes it less of a business or a game than a religion. He lifts it out of the street on to the high lands where the view is wide and the air pure, and where

the voices heard are the voices that do not bewilder or betray."

Very often it was late in the afternoon before he could settle down to deal with the mass of departmental business that called inexorably for the orders of the Secretary of State. Then he would send for his Secretary and bid him not to wait but to go off home, leaving a few despatch boxes for the papers to be put into when disposed of. Sometimes, to set his mind at rest, we had to pretend to go, and then the old man worked away steadily till he had finished, at whatever hour that might be, in the fond belief that he was keeping nobody else late at the office. Once when the late Mr. Keir Hardie, the Labour leader, was making a tour in India, and there happened to be riots in Calcutta, the London papers (it being "the silly season" and news being scarce) were full of alarmist reports. There were scare headlines. All the apparatus of competitive sensation was brought into play. Telegrams of inquiry to the authorities in India had elicited no reply—His Excellency the Viceroy, as it turned out afterwards, was in the wilds shooting tigers, remote from posts and telegraphs, while the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal was presumably busy quelling the disturbance. At any rate, no answer came, and Lord Morley was due to start at once for Balmoral as Minister in attendance. It was an awkward situation. With the idea of giving him the latest news before he took train to Scotland, one of his Private Secretaries proposed to come to the India Office in the small hours, so as to report the contents of any telegram that might arrive. But Lord Morley would have none of it. "I positively forbid you, my dear —, to come up on Sunday. If Excellencies take things so easily, why should you and I kill ourselves with zeal?"

It was to relieve the unremitting strain that the Secretary of State at length allowed his name to be submitted to His Majesty, and "J. M." became Viscount Morley. After the first shock of instinctive surprise, a widespread feeling was reflected in some lines published in an evening newspaper at the time :—

"When Morley said, 'Let's end the Lords,
Or, at the least, let's mend 'em,'
We little thought what pregnant words
Composed that vague addendum.

"To-day we learn how much they meant :
His Majesty, as I count,
Improves the Peers by ten per cent.
In making John a Viscount !"

This verse I ventured to show to the Secretary of State, and his appreciation of it (he loved a neat turn of phrase) was all the greater because it had appeared in a print with which he had old associations, the *Pall Mall Gazette*.

Lord Morley, while he inspired devotion, had himself a sincere regard, and—it is not presumptuous to use the word—respect for the work of the Home Civil Service. (His admiration of the work of the Civil Service of India is well known: witness his speech to probationers at Oxford in 1909, given in the volume of his *Indian Speeches*.) Possibly long practice as a journalist made him realise how much depends on the spade-work done by junior members of the staff, or perhaps one should say the "team-work" of a well-organised department. Be this as it may, he was most generously appreciative of service rendered. This feeling found felicitous expression in a letter which he wrote on resigning the office of Secretary of State for India. The letter was addressed to the late Sir Richmond Ritchie, then Under-Secretary of State, and was duly communicated to the Staff. It has not, I think, been published before, but it is so characteristic that it may not be out of place, in a paper intended for circulation in the Civil Service, to quote it in full :—

"India Office,
"7th November, 1910.

"I have now presided over the India Office for the long span of five years, and I do not like to quit my post without expressing to you my warm sense of the debt that I, in common with the Secretaries of State who have preceded me, owe to the officials of this great department. The

period has been more than usually exacting. I have been, as you know, a pretty steady observer, and I wish you would convey to your colleagues my feeling of admiration for the assiduous industry, the loyalty, devotion, and high standard of public duty and official responsibility, that has come before me from my first days in this room, down to these, the last. In all sincerity and all humility I take leave to say so much as this.

"The complexity of the system of Indian government set up by Parliament in 1858, the dual spheres of administration and authority, the difficulties of the questions, the distance of the scene, the vast magnitude of the interests, all make a daily and almost hourly demand upon the varied capacity and resources of the India Office, which can only be realised by us who have worked in it through arduous times. No other department of State surpasses it in weight of responsibility; perhaps no other equals it. May I add that this feeling of mine is by no means limited to the higher officials among you? I do not forget those minor members of your Establishment, with whom my duties did not bring me into personal contact, yet with whose promptitude, readiness, and fidelity in such unostentatious but highly important work as the custody of the registers, for instance, the accounting and all the rest of the detail unseen by the Secretary of State, I am well acquainted, and to whom I well know that my own debt is heavy.

"You will believe, my dear Ritchie, with what gratitude, respect, and most cordial good wishes I bid you all farewell. The India Office is a department with which any Minister of the Crown cannot but feel proud to have found himself associated, and that lasting pride is mine.

"Ever yours,

"MORLEY OF BLACKBURN."

A lasting pride is ours, too—to have served such a chief.

P. H. D.

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QUEEN VICTORIA'S PROCLAMATION, 1858

AN interesting account of the genesis of this epoch-making document is given in an Appendix to the volume of *Lord Morley's Indian Speeches* (Macmillan & Co., 1910). When the draft was presented to Her Majesty for approval, the Queen demurred. There was no word of the Christian religion in it. The cautious statesmen attempted to justify the omission by "reasons of State"; it was essential not to offend Indian religious susceptibilities. The Sovereign was not impressed. She was a Christian, and known to be such by her new subjects. Why not avow it, and in making her solemn promise to put their well-being first confirm it by the most sacred pledge a Christian ruler could give? There was much head-shaking among the men of the world, but the Queen had her way. It was one of the classic instances in history when a woman's unerring instinct, brushing aside the fumbings and sophistries of "statesmen," touched the imagination and evoked an immediate and lasting response. It is safe to say that the sentences inserted at the Queen's instance in the Proclamation of 1858 did more to stabilise British rule in India and set it on a bedrock foundation than an Army Corps and all the Despatches put together. They not only inspired confidence in Her Majesty's Indian subjects and the Ruling Princes who were her Allies in suppressing the Mutiny; they also inspired in generations of British administrators a spirit of devotion which, later, found expression in a notable speech by the most eloquent of the Viceroys, Lord Curzon (p. 135).

PETITION OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY TO PARLIAMENT,
1858

(Extract.)

For the full text of this document (which was drafted by no less eminent an authority than John Stuart Mill, then Examiner of Indian Correspondence in the East India Company's Offices in Leadenhall Street) see *Speeches and Documents on Indian Policy*, 1750-1921, edited by Professor A. B. Keith, D.C.L., D.Litt. (Oxford University Press, 1922), Vol. I, pp. 298-319. An interesting account of the organisation of the Company's Home Office, seasoned with more or less apocryphal anecdotes about notable members of the Staff such as Charles Lamb, Thomas Love Peacock, and James and John Stuart Mill, will be found in Sir William Foster's book, *The East India House; its History and Associations* (published by John Lane, 1924).

SIR CHARLES WOOD'S SPEECH ON THE INDIAN COUNCILS
BILL, 1861

(Extract.)

The text of this speech, and of the Act as passed (24 and 25 Vict. c. 67), will be found in A. B. Keith, *Speeches and Documents*, Vol. II, pp. 3-46.

THE INDIAN COUNCILS ACT, 1892

This enactment, introducing for the first time and under strict safeguards the principle of election of representatives by vote, as distinguished from nomination by the Executive Government, was the occasion of a historic debate in the House of Commons, on 28th March, 1892. The outstanding speeches were those by Mr. Gladstone and Mr. G. N. Curzon, then Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for India, who seven years afterwards became Viceroy and Governor-General, with the title of Baron Curzon of Kedleston.

Mr. Gladstone enunciated a doctrine of far-reaching importance. "It is not our business," he said, "to devise machinery for the purpose of Indian government; it is our business to give to those who represent Her Majesty in India ample information as to what we believe to be sound principles of government, and it is of course the function of this House to comment upon any case in which we may think they have failed to give due effect to those principles. But in the discharge of these high administrative functions, or as to the choice of means, we should leave that in their hands. . . . I do not think [the effort to introduce the elective principle] can be made by this House except through the medium of empowering provisions."

Mr. Curzon's speech was notable for his declaration of British policy as then conceived. "Who are the people of India? The people of India are the voiceless millions who can neither read nor write their own tongues, who have no knowledge whatever of English, who are not perhaps universally aware of the fact that the English are in their country as rulers. The people of India are the ryots and the peasants, whose life is not one of political aspiration but of mute penury and toil. . . . The idea of representation is alien to the Indian mind."

SIR H. FOWLER'S DESPATCH, 26TH JUNE, 1895

This Despatch is included, by permission of the Secretary of State, as illustrating the generally accepted doctrine of the unity of Indian Government. The question whether the governing authority at Simla is an instrument of the governing authority in Whitehall, or vice versa, has been at times the theme of a good deal of infructuous controversy. It is here dealt with authoritatively by analogy with British political practice.

LORD MORLEY'S DESPATCH, 27TH NOVEMBER, 1908

Along with this Despatch, which gives a general idea of what are known as the "Morley-Minto reforms," should

be read Lord Morley's speeches in the House of Lords on 17th December, 1908, and 23rd February, 1909. The Parliamentary scene on these occasions is vividly described in his *Recollections*, Vol. II, pp. 288, 297 and following pages. The Despatch was cordially received in India. "A fair share in the government of our own country has now been given to us," declared Dr. Rash Behari Ghose as President of the Indian National Congress in December 1909; and he went on to say: "Of this I am assured, that on our genuine co-operation with the British Government depend our future progress and the development of a fuller social and political life. . . . As I said only the other day from my place in the Viceregal Council we must be mad if we were really disloyal. We are not impatient Utopians filled with ecstatic visions, for we know of no talisman that can make a nation in an hour. . . . We are sustained by the conviction that a just cause can never fail with the people of England."

A SIDELIGHT ON CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM IN INDIA (1909)

This interesting, if unconventional, document will be found imbedded in one of the *Monster Blue Books* of 1909 (the description was Lord Lansdowne's). The sentence italicised towards the end of the dialogue (p. 61) contains the pith and essence of much of the criticism directed by persons with long experience of day-to-day administration against the undue stress apt to be laid upon constitution-making, in other words the mere machinery of government. In forwarding the Report the District Officer (Major H. S. Fox Strangways, Deputy Commissioner, Jhelum District) wrote: "In consulting my visitors I have always adopted the plan of asking them to describe the present system of government to me, and have invariably found, as was to be expected, that they were sublimely ignorant of the functions, and even of the existence, of the various parts of Government, from the Secretary of State to the Provincial Legislative Councils. Discussion of this important question was, under these circumstances, necessarily some-

what one-sided, and I was reduced to explaining the proposals of the Government of India, stating my own opinion and asking if they agreed. This, of course, they usually did, but not invariably, and one of the exceptions (Khar Bahadur Raja Aurangzib) was so much in earnest in his dissenting views that I recorded our conversation as near as I could verbatim, and have ventured to attach it as an appendix to this report."

THE MARQUESS OF CREWE'S DESPATCH, 1ST NOVEMBER 1911

This Despatch, authorising, on behalf of His Majesty's Government, the transfer of the seat of Government from Calcutta to Delhi (and consequential administrative changes) is included not only for its intrinsic interest, but also as representing a definite stage in Indian constitutional development. The operation was the outstanding feature of Lord Hardinge's Viceroyalty. The text of the Government of India's Despatch will be found in a White Paper presented to Parliament in 1911, Cd. 5979. The reply from the Home Government is here included, in preference to the one from India proposing the transfer of the Capital as being more concise and less cumbered with detail than the latter.

REPORT ON INDIAN CONSTITUTIONAL REFORMS, 1918

This report, signed by the Right Honourable Edwin Montagu (Secretary of State) and Viscount Chelmsford (Viceroy and Governor-General), is a document of the first importance, and deserves to be studied in its entirety for the account it gives of the state of India during the last stages of the Great War. In selecting extracts from it the object has been to illustrate the sequence of events and the general trend of political thought rather than to set out in detail the concrete proposals, many of which did not survive to be included even in the Bill laid before Parliament in 1919. The general character of the system of provincial government recommended is perhaps sufficiently

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indicated by the descriptive appellation "Dyarchy" applied to it by the authors of the Report themselves. Mr. Montagu's speech in the House of Commons on the Second Reading of the Bill on 5th June, 1919 (*A. B. Keith's Speeches and Documents*, Vol. II, pp. 206-236), and the Report of the Joint Select Committee of Lords and Commons (*ibid.*, pp. 236-262) read in conjunction give a clear account of the scope of the Bill and the more important problems involved.

Lack of space alone has dictated the omission of the brilliant historical retrospect in Chapter I, entitled "Growth of the Administrative System," and the lucid analysis of the pre-war constitution in Chapter V; but some extracts from the last-named chapter, explaining the organisation of the "District" as the unit of administration in British India, have been included in the section on the Services.

DEBATE IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS, 27TH FEBRUARY, 1924 (Extract.)

Two speeches have been selected as typical, one by a distinguished ex-member of the Indian Civil Service, Lord Meston, and the other by the Earl of Balfour—the former apologetic and the latter critical of the working of the Montagu-Chelmsford Constitution. They followed an important statement by the then Secretary of State, Lord Olivier.

STATEMENT BY LORD IRWIN, NOVEMBER 1928

This announcement by the present Viceroy and Governor-General gives the rationale and personnel of the Royal Commission now at work under the Chairmanship of Sir John Simon.

LORD CURZON'S FAREWELL SPEECH, NOVEMBER 1905

This speech inspired some striking verses by the Archbishop of Armagh, Primate of All Ireland, which were published in the daily press :—

Welcome to Lord Curzon

- "Thou, who the grandest crown hast taken off
With thine own hand, our first of men can wear,
O full of toil beyond the taunt of scoff,
- "Welcome, high welcome, to our wintry air—
Full well our English instinct knows a man;
What worthy wreath of words shall we prepare?
- "Not lights of speech and flowers—what all may scan—
Some words of thee well-loved, majestic, calm,
Of an august simplicity that can
- "Outvie all our comparison—a psalm,
Whose life is told by thousands of our years
High-heaven, yet full of home's familiar balm.
- "So to our race in India full and strong
Fell from thy lips that phrase no time outwears,
'Thou hast loved righteousness and hated wrong'—
- "Thus spake our great men of the olden time,
Who grandly spoke, because they grandly thought—
Whose spirit first, then speech, became sublime!
- "Colossal brevity as by magic wrought,
Catching the difficult ear of after-time;
Restraint—and not effusion—dearly bought.
- "Now, when our politic armies in their place
Stand clamouring by the fires along their line,
Each battle sees the other's angry face;
- "Come now with utterance of the men of old
Come thou, be judged of all this land of thine—
Not with a pomp of colour and of gold;
- "Thy speech is not like those who fain would try
Moonbeams through glass—a lovely impotence,
Lustrous but lifeless, fading firelessly;
- "Thou who hast instinct of a mighty work,
Of the great utterance of the days gone by,
Superb as Chatham, steadfast-souled as Burke."

IMPERIAL WAR CONFERENCE RESOLUTION, 1918

For the full text of the Debate leading to the conclusion of this important agreement, see A. B. Keith, *Speeches and Documents on Indian Policy*, Vol. II, pp. 134-151.

SIR JAMES WILLCOCKS' ORDER OF THE DAY TO THE INDIAN EXPEDITIONARY FORCE

The following ode to the King-Emperor, which was sent as a New Year greeting to every Indian soldier on field service by a distinguished Sikh Member of the Council of India, Sirdar Daljit Singh, C.S.I., is indicative of the spirit in which the Indian troops in France faced "the Great Adventure." The poem was of course in the vernacular, being printed in Hindi, Urdu, and Gurmukhi, according to the language of the recipient. The English version, published in the newspapers at the time, was by a member of the India Office staff.

"From East to West, from North to South, thy Banner is unfurled;
It streams above the Seven Seas, it waves throughout the world!
The sun may travel far by day and journey through the night;
Speed as he will, thine Empire's bounds be yet beyond his sight.
Discord is silent at thy word, and safe beneath thy rule
The lamb and lion slake their thirst beside the self-same pool.
Each home is nurs'd in Virtue's lap, and Folly's voice is still;
Even in dreams there cometh not a single thought of ill!

"Fire, water, wind, obey thy will and thy commandments own;
Triumph and Joy dwell calm beneath the shadow of thy Throne!
Imperial Master, noble George, our Sovereign Lord and King,
Thee, our defence in time of need, thy loving people sing.
While tower the Mountains of the North, while sunlight gilds the
plain,
While gleams the silver moon by night, or heaves the rolling main,
World-wide, unmoved, impregnable, may thy dominion stand,
And for the buttress of thy Right be God's protecting hand!"

LORD BIRKENHEAD'S PANEGYRIC AT NEUVE CHAPELLE, 7TH OCTOBER, 1927

The Memorial, at the unveiling of which this oration was delivered, was one erected by the Imperial War Graves Commission "in honour of the Indian troops who fought in France and Belgium, and of those of their dead in France who have no known grave."

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